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“YOUNG JAPAN.”

YOKOHAMA AND YEDO.

—
A NARRATIVE
OF
THE SETTLEMENT AND THE CITY
FROM THE
SIGNING OF THE TREATIES IN 1858,
TO THE
CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1879.
WITH A GLANCE AT
THE PROGRESS OF JAPAN
DURING A PERIOD OF TWENTY-ONE YEARS.

—
BY
JOHN R. BLACK,

Formerly Editor of the 'Japan Gazette,' and of the 'Japan Herald'; Editor of the 'Far-East,' Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Also the Proprietor and Editor of the 'Nisshin Shinjishi'—the first Newspaper, (worthy of the name), ever published in the native language in Japan.

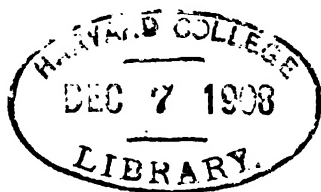
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The confession of Nakahara Hisao.—Outbreak of the rebel- lion.—Rebel leaders.—Arrest and degradation of Oyama Tsumayoshi. — First battle and death of Shinowara. — Reported overtures for a compromise.—Firmness of the Government.—Saigo Takamori and his influence.—Descrip- tion of Saigo Takamori.—Beloved by the common people.— His defence.—Progress of the rebellion. — Hopelessness of the rebel cause.—Succession of Imperial victories.— Dispersion of the rebels and the flight of Saigo.—Supposed close of the war.—Sudden re-appearance of Saigo and Kirino at Kagoshima. — Renewed activity of the Im- perialists.—Attack on the rebel position.—Defeat of the rebels, and death of Saigo and Kirino. — Close of the rebellion.—General view.....	480-499
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YOUNG JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHOSHIU'S SUBMISSION.—
PRACTICALLY DISPROVED.—VISIT OF SIR HARRY PARKES AND
ADMIRAL KING TO THE PRINCE OF SATSUMA.—ALSO TO THE
PRINCE OF UWAJIMA.—DIFFERING REPORTS OF THE POLITICAL
SITUATION FROM NAGASAKI AND YEDO.—MISMANAGEMENT OF
THE TYCOON'S FORCES.—REMONSTRANCES AGAINST THE ACTION
OF THE GOVERNMENT REGARDING CHOSHIU.

THE practice of jumping to conclusions is confined to no time or race. At the beginning of July, 1866, the Gorojiu officially announced to foreign ministers that when CHOSHIU perceived that the troops of the Tycoon were absolutely in motion, he had submitted. It was thus generally believed that the great crisis had passed; giving to foreigners the expectation that an equilibrium being restored to the country, there would be a general and rapid improvement in trade, and in the relations between themselves and the Japanese who had hitherto opposed them. It was joyously declared to be a new starting point for Japan.

The ratification of the treaties was a real, tangible point of departure; but the sequel will shew how little reliability could be placed on the submission of the Choshu clan.

On the 12th July the daimio was to have sent hostages to the Tycoon, as a pledge of his good faith ; but on that day he sent a letter, stating that his people were against the arrangement, and would not allow him to keep it. New forces were therefore ordered from Yedo, and the recommencement of war declared to be inevitable.

We had not long to wait for it. Before the end of the month, an official communication was sent by the Gorojiu to the foreign ministers, to the effect that fighting had commenced ; and intimating that the Tycoon's army had been successful in three battles.

But while these things were going on, the British Minister was engaged in a manner eminently novel and agreeable. Having paid an official visit to Nagasaki, he returned to Yokohama, taking the opportunity of paying a friendly visit to Kagoshima in his way.

The following account of the visit was given me by an officer on board the Princess Royal on its arrival in Yokohama.

"The sun shone from a clear sky, and the sea was calm and beautiful, on the 27th July 1866, when H.M.S. Princess Royal, followed by the *Serpent* and *Salamis*, steamed into Kagoshima harbour. There were some on board who had been there when the sea was furious, and the wind was high, and shots were poured from those grim-looking batteries to the right and left, which were now quiet—with the exception of one, in which the gunners were preparing to salute the admiral's flag. One could not help contrasting the former hostile visit with the present friendly one, undertaken at the invitation of MATSUDAIRA SHIURI-NO-DAIBU, Prince of Satsuma, given to Sir HARRY PARKES, through his agent at Nagasaki.

"In beautiful order the three ships steamed into the harbour a little after noon. As soon as the anchors were let go, the fort near the town fired a salute of fifteen guns, slowly, but with wonderful regularity. The Princess Royal rattled back the answer. On board the

Salamis were Sir HARRY and Lady PARKES, Dr. WILLIS and Captain APPLIN. On the Princess Royal were Messrs. SIEBOLD and LOWDER, T. B. GLOVER and a Japanese interpreter named HORI.

"SATSUMA's Prime Minister and other officers now came on board, and paid their respects with that courtly politeness which distinguishes the Japanese gentleman; and, after explaining to them the meaning of what was about to be done, the Japanese flag was saluted with twenty one guns; the salute being returned by the forts.

"No official visits were to be made this day, but it was arranged that a guard should be ready in the afternoon, to attend any officers who might wish to land and see the place. At 4 p.m., Sir HARRY PARKES, the Admiral, and a large number of officers, landed, and walked through the town. Thousands of natives, the greater part of whom had never seen a European, lined each side of the road; the centre being kept quite clear by the yakunins.

"After passing through the town, which was remarkably clean, and in parts exceedingly picturesque, the party arrived at a temple where refreshments in the shape of fruit, cake, champagne, sake and beer, were laid out, and hospitably pressed upon the thirsty guests.

"On the following day, 26th July, the young prince, in his state barge, came off to the Princess Royal. He was received by Admiral KING with a guard of honour, conducted to the poop, and welcomed with a salute of nineteen guns.

"Nothing could exceed the quiet ease of his deportment while receiving and returning the congratulations of the Minister and the Admiral. He was accompanied by those who had been on board the day before, and a high officer named NERU, who, together with HORI, had visited England and several of the other chief countries in Europe.

"In the afternoon the Minister and Admiral, accompanied by a numerous staff, returned the Prince's visit and dined with him. At the dinner there were forty different dishes, with English beer and Japanese and foreign wines. It lasted five hours.

"During the afternoon, target-firing was practised from one of the forts, and several exceedingly good shots were made.

"On Monday, July 30, the Prince and his five brothers came on board to see target-firing. One shell from the hundred-pounder, worked by the R. M. Artillery, burst inside the large target, 800 yards distant; two other shots from the same gun and two from other guns, struck the same target. Afterwards the visitors went over the ship, and examined with much interest, the arms and the machinery.

"On the morning of the 31st, a heavy thunder and rain storm passed over the place, cooling the air, and freshening up the whole country. At 4 p.m., 150 Marines and two field-pieces, under the command of Capt. SANDERS R. M. L. I., were landed at a point close to the Prince's palace. The ground had been tastily prepared. A handsome pavilion had been pitched for the Princes, the Ministers, and others of importance, and another near it for any officers who might choose to attend. At each side of the Prince's tent hung two knotted ropes, symbolical of the lowly origin of Japan; once only a community of fishermen.

"Soon the Princes made their appearance, and, taking the lead among them, an older man of rather short stature, with a clever, determined face. This was the notorious SHIMADZU SABURO, brother of the late, and father of the present, Prince.

"Sir HARRY and Lady PARKES, with His Excellency's staff, shortly afterwards arrived, and the evolutions commenced. Dismounting the guns appeared to take the Prince's attention more than anything. There were refreshments laid out for those who required them; and all went off well.

"The following day a party of officers went out shooting and had pretty fair sport.

"The gardens about the palace, though limited, are most tastefully laid out; the background being formed by a hill, up the front of which are miles of shady walks, with fine umbrageous trees, paths covered with a carpet of moss and fringed with ferns, and the perpetual music of a clear brook which gushes and bubbles along at one's side, until, in the garden beneath, it forms a charming cascade, supplies the artificial streams and fish-ponds, and, finally, adds utility to beauty, by turning a rice mill just outside the garden boundary.

"Adjoining the palace grounds is a foundry—a most interesting place. Here the Japanese themselves, without European aid, cast great cannons, shot and shell, and work a steam turning-lathe. Crossing the yard we come to the glass-foundry, and see the Japanese blowing and cutting all kinds of bottles and glass ornaments, some requiring considerable cleverness. There is certainly among these people the germ of a future greatness in the manufacturing world; and many of their works, even now, would be worthy of notice in any international exhibition.

"Directly after the review, Sir HARRY PARKES left Kagoshima in the *Salamis*, receiving a farewell salute from the forts.

"Nothing could exceed the kindness of feeling expressed towards the visitors, not only by the Princes, but also by the people.

"On Thursday, August 2, the second brother of the Prince came on board and had his portrait taken. In the afternoon, the Princess Royal left Kagoshima, receiving a salute of 15 guns, and took her course to Uwajima; the Admiral intending to meet Sir HARRY PARKES at that port; his Highness the Prince of Totómi having sent a special invitation to them.

"Uwajima, wrongly marked on the chart Kugama, was reached after a quick and pleasant passage. A couple of intelligent Japanese pilots were ready to show us the way into the harbour.

"Great interest was evinced by all on board concerning this place, and their anticipations were not disappointed. Those who have had the pleasure of seeing the lovely harbour of Nagasaki, can form some idea of Uwajima; for, with respect to the bold green hills which rise on every side, and the security they afford to ships anchoring within them, the two harbours are very similar; but the latter is more varied with occasional breaks and creeks than the former. As we steamed in, every one was delighted with the beauty of the place; particularly that side where the town and the Prince's palace nestle under a range of high hills.

"We came to an anchor at 5 P.M., on Saturday August 4.

"Some of the officers of DATE TOTÓMI-NO-KAMI came on board: and the next day the Prince himself and his

elder brother—not on an official visit, but quietly, with about half a dozen followers. It is necessary to explain that the elder brother was formerly the Prince, but in consequence of his opposition to the Tycoon he was ordered to resign in favour of his brother. He is, nevertheless, evidently the man who has the real power, apparently with the brother's consent. This day they spent about seven hours on board; and were so interested that they were sorry to leave. It somewhat astonished us to find that these men were not alone well-read in their own literature; but were acquainted with that of foreign nations; and that they could converse, for instance, on such subjects as the battle of Waterloo.

“On Tuesday, August 7, about thirty Japanese ladies came off to visit the ship, and were to all appearance, infinitely amused.

“At 4 P.M. the same day, the Marines landed to review before the daimio. After going through their evolutions, we had the pleasure of seeing about forty of the clansmen go through their drill, and the precision and steadiness with which they performed every manœuvre was truly surprising. The bayonet exercise had somewhat astonished SATSUMA, but these men did it almost as well as our own Marines.

“One of the most interesting scenes was the dinner given to Sir HARRY and Lady PARKES, the Admiral and several officers being present. Everything was carried on in native style; and what added to the zest was, that the princesses and ladies of the household were introduced.

“During the afternoon, the father of the two princes entered, having his sword carried before him by a lady. He requested Drs. WILLIS and TOMS to examine into his ailments; but they found that age was his chief complaint. He was about 75 years old.

“In the evening there was some capital Japanese fencing, music, singing and dancing. The whole entertainment was *recherché* and agreeable.

“On leaving the palace we found a vast number of lamps, carried by long lines of men, to guide us to the boats, and the effect was very picturesque.

“It was very evident that the Prince of Totomi wished to shew us both friendship and hospitality; and he was

CHOSHII'S RESOLUTION.—GOVERNMENT MISMANAGEMENT. 7

eagerly seconded by his people, who offered us fruit and sweetmeats as we passed through the streets.

"On Saturday the 11th, the ships left Uwajima, and made way to Yokohama."

From this pleasant picture we return once more to the political aspect of affairs.

It soon became clear to foreign residents, that they must wait patiently the course of events, neither building their hopes on any assurance of success on the part of the Tycoon, nor allowing them to be depressed by contrary rumours. Indeed, from this time there sprung up an idea in the minds of some, that perhaps foreign trade would be rather promoted than otherwise by the defeat of the Yedo forces. From Nagasaki more reliable accounts of the struggle were received, than could be obtained from the officials either in Yedo or Yokohama; the former information being obtained either from agents of Choshii, or from Satsuma officers who were opposed to the harsh measures that were being taken against the Nagato chief. Though the troops of the daimio, were, in fact, the victors in the majority of the conflicts, reports of their successes were probably nearly as much misrepresented as were the Yedo accounts; the former by exaggerations of the magnitude of the victories: the latter by the concealment of failures. At first, Choshii was fighting the Tycoon single-handed. The clan declared, nevertheless, that it would fight to the death. The Tycoon's army was altogether mismanaged. With its great superiority in numbers, there is no doubt that it might have made a clean sweep of the hostile clan, had it moved forward in force, with the ten thousand foreign-armed men and artillery; and had all the daimios whose contingents were included in it, been true to their master's cause. Instead of this the Tycoon sent small parties forward, giving to Choshii the advantage of

having to encounter them in detail ; and as, so to speak, the clan was fighting for dear life, the spirit they carried into the strife almost always prevailed over the half-hearted efforts of their opponents.

Remonstrances were made by several of the important daimios, against the action of Tycoon with respect to Choshu. The Prince of OWARI, himself one of the Gosanké, or three houses from which the Tycoon could be selected, protested that it was likely to endanger the Tokugawa dynasty. He had, he said, himself obtained the submission of Choshu ; and had the Government mentioned such terms to the repentant chief as were possible for brave men to allow their lord to assent to, no difficulty would have been experienced.

The Satsuma leaders, in like manner, began to evince unmistakable proofs of sympathy with the clan ; and, as already related, the very soldiers who had come from Yedo, were more than lukewarm in the cause, and many would have returned to Yedo, within a few days of their leaving it, had they dared.

The Government altogether miscalculated the effect of the Tycoon's march to Osaka at the head of his army. It had been their opinion that the clansmen would be frightened into submission, to avoid utter annihilation. In this the result proved them to be greatly in error. It was clear that they themselves wished to avoid actual conflict, if possible ; and much delay was allowed, in hopes that war would be avoided. Thus the majority of the troops were detained in Osaka. This period was availed of by the clan to make extensive preparations, whilst their expected assailants were demoralised by idleness in the garrison, and by the want of a leader capable of animating them with martial ardour. The very chiefs themselves were becoming dissatisfied at having to bear the burden and

expense of so long and fruitless an attendance upon the Tycoon with their forces ; and any zeal they might have had was daily growing weaker and weaker by frequent discussions on the real cause of the quarrel.

CHAPTER II.

THE YOKOHAMA RACE CLUB.—ASCENT OF FUSIYAMA.—THE
DUO D'ALENCON.—THE ITALIAN TREATY.—LOCAL INCIDENT.—
RICE RIOTS.—THE COMPRADORES AND THE 'UNCURRENT'
DOLLAR DIFFICULTY.—PUBLIC MEETING.—ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE FIRST MASONIC LODGE IN YOKOHAMA.

THE 4th July, 1866, was rendered locally memorable by the formation of "The Yokohama Race Club." For some time, whatever sports there were, had been inaugurated by the military; and although gentlemen of the community were invited to take part in them they were announced as "Garrison" sports. But now a change was to be made. Since 1862, the old Race Committee had not provided any meeting, for want of a course; and those got up by the military officers were run, first on the garrison parade-ground on the Bluff, and, latterly on the Rifle Range; both sorry make-shifts for flat racing; though the hills surrounding the latter offered excellent ground for steeple-chasing.

The site proposed for the new Race Course, on the Mississippi Road, has been already mentioned. The Committee now received a definite assurance from the officials of Kanagawa, that the construction of it should

be proceeded with, on receiving the assent of the community to pay a rental of \$10 *per* 100 tsubos—which, as the land appropriated would occupy 16,000 tsubos, would amount to \$1,600 *per annum*.

To raise the necessary funds for rent and incidental expenses, the "officers of the Diplomatic service, the Army and Navy of all nations, and members of the Yokohama, Yokohama United, and German Clubs," were invited to form the nucleus of a proposed Race Club. An ample number did so enrol themselves and the Course was proceeded with, and handed over to the Club a few months later.

The ascent, by foreigners, of Fusi-yama, the peerless mountain of Japan, (which, from the pride of the natives in it may justify the title of 'the delectable mountain'), is now so common that little is made of it. Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, in exercise of his right of interior travel, as the Queen's representative, had visited it in 1860; but during the interval of six years that had elapsed, no other attempts had been made to obtain permission. It certainly would not have been granted; and during the entire period would have been altogether too hazardous. But now it was otherwise. On the 20th August, a party of Europeans made the ascent, sleeping one night in one of the huts on the summit. They were just eight days absent from Yokohama, and of course considerably out of treaty limits. On their return they spoke of their trip and of the kindness and civility of all classes of Japanese, in the highest terms; and the incident is alluded to, in order to mark the improving relations between the Japanese and foreigners; as, on this occasion, no objection was offered when the permission of the government was applied for; whilst when Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK was about to visit it,

notwithstanding his right, considerable opposition had been offered.

H. R. H. the Duc D'ALENCON, son of H. R. H. the Duc DE NEMOURS, visited Japan at this time, and was the guest of H. E. Sir HARRY PARKES, at the English Legation, Yedo. Being of the Orleans family, he could not be received, except privately, by the French Minister ; and the time had not yet arrived for the acknowledgment of distinguished foreigners by the Government.

The Italian corvette *Magenta* arrived on the 5th of July, under the command of Captain ARMIGNON, who was provided with full powers to make a treaty for Victor EMANUEL, King of Italy. The treaty was signed on the 25th August.

The Belgian treaty was signed about the same time.

A small incident may be here mentioned, which demonstrates the efficiency of the Japanese yakunins in discovering culprits, when there was no fear of consequences.

A foreign resident of Yokohama, who, in the month of March, had been robbed of a sum of money and some small things which he could not enumerate, was waited on in November by some officers, who returned to him 910 boos and \$2, being nearly the whole of the money he had lost, together with several articles which he recognised as his property. The thieves had been apprehended near Kioto, and, having confessed, gave up the remains of the spoil. This is a convincing proof that more serious offenders might have been discovered, if the Government had dared to bring them to justice.

Another affair, which, as it had certain characteristic features which make it worth recording, shall be described. A riot, on account of the scarcity of food and the consequent high prices prevailing, took place

in Yedo during this month. A number of common people accompanied by some priests, went, in parties of forty or fifty, from various temples where they had assembled, to Shinagawa ; where, having raised a total number of five or six hundred men, they commenced an attack on the rice, sugar, and sake, shops ; and even upon some tea-houses and money-changers' premises ; breaking and removing the shutters, which had been put up ; and, in some instances scattering the contents of the godowns. In several parts of the city, damage was done. Yet no robbery took place. The houses attacked seem to have been previously marked, for all were not visited ; and hardly any of the poorer shop-keepers were molested. Some of the richer purchased immunity by presents of rice ; but the purpose of the rioters was evidently punishment rather than plunder. No less than three hundred of them were taken into custody. The price of rice fell almost immediately. But the officials declared that this was in consequence of the unlocking of stores which the submission of Choshii rendered no longer necessary ; as well as, by the payment of a large quantity by that prince ; and, by the arrival of heavy shipments from the north.

And now a great local abuse had to be met.

The Compradore system—the employment of Chinese as go-betweens in all transactions with the natives, and particularly as the great money receivers and changers—became this year intolerable. It was felt throughout the whole community, and had its origin with the compradores of the foreign banks.

The plan the wily celestials adopted was this :—They were in the habit of buying up (and even importing) inferior dollars—paying, as a rule, \$94 first class for \$100 inferior. The latter they paid away, as opportunity

offered, to the public. Thus the inferior dollars were always kept in circulation. But the crafty fellows would receive none but the best themselves ; and consequently were always supplied with the means of purchasing the inferior ones. This was a ready means of coining money ; for six per cent. stuck to their fingers whenever they touched a dollar.

Things reached a climax in October. A merchant would receive thousands of dollars from a bank one day, and pay them in on the next, not having disturbed them in the boxes in which they were received ; and the very man who had paid them to him would refuse one seventh of the entire lot ; and there was no redress. This case actually did occur ; and similar ones were of every day occurrence. Every class suffered : until at last a public meeting was held on the subject. How universally the shoe pinched was evidenced by the fact that it was one of the most numerously attended meetings ever assembled in Yokohama. All the bank managers, most of the merchants and shopkeepers, and many of the foreign artisans were present. Proceeding to business under the presidency of Mr. JOHN G. WALSH, of the firm of WALSH, HALL & Co., a conclusion was arrived at, which ultimately had the desired effect of abating the evil.

Two of the managers of banks, declared that the evil originated with the Custom house authorities, who, refusing to accept from the banks all but a small proportion of the dollars offered them in payment of duties, compelled the compradores to go and do likewise. But it was pointed out that the Japanese had their version of the origin of the difficulty. Their statement was, that the dollars which they had accepted as good, were refused by the bank compradores in such quantities, that they were forced, in self-defence, to take extreme precautions.

The meeting, however, did not waste much time in

discussing how, or with whom, the evil originated ; but set themselves to find a remedy. A resolution, proposed by Mr. SEPTIMUS SHORT, manager of the Chartered Mercantile Bank, and seconded by Mr. W. R. BRETT, manager of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, was unanimously adopted. It was as follows :—

“RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the Foreign Ministers should be memorialised, and requested to make arrangements, if possible, with the Japanese Government, to assist the Community in the present difficulty regarding the Dollar currency, by asking them to receive all *bona fide* full-weight, unchopt, uncracked Mexican dollars as the proper current dollar in Yokohama.”

The Chairman, mover and seconder, were appointed a committee to draw up the memorial ; and the result was a reply from the Japanese Government that they would do so, if the foreign banks should also agree to act on the same principle ; but “should the foreign banks at any time cease to receive such dollars, the Custom-house will also no longer receive them.”

This was but fair. Each became a check upon the other ; and before the end of the year the trouble was at an end.

But there was yet another matter which materially affected the residents, at this time under consideration—the Land-Regulations proposed by the Municipal Council. All that I deem it necessary to say upon that subject, however, shall be reserved for a future chapter on Municipal affairs in general.

Among social events worthy of mention it would surely be reprehensible to omit the establishment of a local Lodge of Freemasonry. All over the East, the Mystic Tie is very largely acknowledged ; and in this, its remotest limit, a community had arisen including a fair number of the brethren. In 1864, the arrival of the

20th Regiment, which had a regimental Lodge, "The Sphinx," working under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, afforded opportunities for Masonic gatherings; but it was thought that there ought to be a Lodge to which Yokohama should give both a local habitation and a name.

Accordingly a petition for a warrant was duly prepared, signed, and sent to the District Grand Master in Hongkong, for transmission to the Grand Lodge in England. Through some mistake it never went further than Hongkong; and this so annoyed some of those who had been instrumental in sending it, that they would take no part in a getting a second petition forwarded with the same end in view.

That such an effort was ultimately made, was mainly due to Mr. CHARLES H. DALLAS, then a very young Mason, but now District Grand Master for Japan. The result of the second petition was that the warrant quickly came out, and the "Yokohama Lodge, No. 1092, E.C." was fully inaugurated, under the presidency of Brother WILLIAM MONK as Worshipful Master; with Brothers HENRY L. BOYLE and C. H. DALLAS as his wardens.

The progress of Freemasonry in the settlement was very rapid, and the Lodge promised at the end of the first year to become one of the largest in the East. The first meetings were held in a large room lent for the purpose by Messrs. GEORGE BARNET & Co., over their offices, and ordinarily used by them as a silk room; but on the 21st November, the Lodge entered into possession of an excellent Hall, designed expressly for them, over a handsome store built by one of the brethren, Mr. J. D. CARROLL. The accommodation included a fine Hall, a large refreshment room, and several smaller rooms necessary for the operations of the Craft. In those premises some of the happiest evenings ever passed in Yokohama, were spent.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT FIRE OF YOKOHAMA.

ONE of the most notable occurrences that mark the history of Yokohama, was the great fire which consumed nearly two thirds of the native settlement, and one fifth of the foreign. The 26th November 1866, must ever be remembered by old residents as one of the blackest in the local annals; and the following account which I penned whilst the embers were still smouldering, and the engines still playing, will doubtless be re-perused by them with interest.

The morning broke on one of the brightest days of the season, but the wind which had been blowing strongly from the south during the night seemed increasing in power; and, blowing over the bay towards Kanagawa, raised the spray in perfect clouds. At a little before nine in the morning, the fire bell gave warning of danger, and all rushed to the scene, which was found to be the street leading from Benten-dori to Yoshiwara. In a few minutes, however, flames were observed issuing in various quarters simultaneously. Ota-matchi broke out at several points: the new American Consular

building, at the distance of a full quarter a mile, shewing flames through the roof at the same moment. The flames worked up against the wind from the locality in which the fire originated, and in half an hour the whole of Yoshiwara was destroyed. With the exception of one or two fire-proof godowns, and the temple at the end, not a single stick was standing to mark the boundaries of dwellings. Unhappily, here was a terrible loss of life, no less than thirty five dead bodies having been found. Yoshiwara, being quite surrounded by water, and there being only one narrow bridge which led into the street that was already in flames, became a *cul de sac*, from which the only retreat was by improvised plank bridges brought into use with all the celerity possible; but the flames were so rapid in their career of destruction, that many fled from them only to meet death in another element. In several parts of the native town persons were burnt or crushed to death. In Ota-machi, the effects of thoughtlessness and disorganisation were painfully apparent. All along the street, the people were getting their little movables out, to fly with them to the *muméchi* (the newly filled in ground) or some other place of safety, but towards the end near the foreign settlement, several people had filled up the street with their goods and chattels, thus making a perfect barricade. Here was an obstruction, that even men who were unencumbered found great difficulty in overcoming; whilst those who were carrying loads were driven to desperation in their efforts to pass, and many women and children were very much hurt. Meanwhile the fire spread towards, and in, the foreign settlement. The New American Consulate was now literally level with the ground, and reports flew around, that No. 1, the residence, offices, and godowns of Messrs. JARDINE, MATHESON & Co., had caught. In another few seconds it

reached the whole settlement that the private residence on No. 2, Messrs. WALSH, HALL & Co., was on fire. Simultaneously with this, the whole range of the old Consular buildings—the French, Prussian, American and English, in which latter several gentlemen of the English Legation and Consulate were residing—were swept off like so much tinder. The wind increased almost to a typhoon: the sparks communicated with the old Japanese Custom house, and in almost as short a time as it takes to pen this tale of desolation, it was a thing of the past. Now arrived on the ground a party of soldiers, who commenced to knock down the portion of the new Bonded warehouse buildings that had any exposed wood; but the *débris* caught as it fell on the ground, and the first building was in flames. Mr. Seare, in his correct perception of the impending danger, directly alarm of fire was given, caused all the window shutters of Bonded warehouse A (which were coppered on the outside) to be closed, and the crevices filled up with mud—but it was of no avail; almost before it could be finished, the roof had become ignited, and it was, if a less speedy, an equally certain prey to the raging flames. The wind had hitherto continued to blow steadily in the same direction as when the fire broke out—and hopes were entertained that the direct line the fire had taken, would be that in which it would exhaust itself on reaching the sea shore. Already the native town had found a boundary beyond which it did not pass, and all was level but smouldering, when a momentary shift of wind sent a spark in at the single unclosed shutter of the foreign godown nearest to the native town, on No. 89. Immediately another strip of buildings caught, and in a wonderfully short space of time, the whole blocks Nos. 70 and 50, Nos. 41 to 43 and 1 and 2 were all ablaze. Now serious apprehensions began to be felt for the settlement; as, should the wind

continue high and shift to the eastward, nothing seemed likely to save it. The fire engines were brought out the instant the alarm of fire was given; but alas, for the efficiency of the Yokohama Fire Brigade, there was not the slightest organization; and some of the engines were entirely useless—having got out of order, probably from disuse. It was difficult also, to procure a sufficient and continuous supply of water for some of those that were well manned and in order, so that at length there seemed to be an almost entire absence of effort to make them available. About 11 o'clock the wind shifted a little more easterly, and quickly laid hold of the houses and godowns in the new direction. No. 71 and part of No. 72 in the Main Street—and Nos. 51, 52 and 53 were speedily attacked. Proceeding in the same direction, Nos. 44 and 49—Nos. 21 to 28 and 8 to 8 became sharers in the general woe. About 11 o'clock, much apprehension was felt, in consequence of its being reported that there were three cannons, loaded with ball, on No. 51—and that the balls could not be drawn. This difficulty was got over by the military, who, either removed the guns to a place of safety, or otherwise made them secure. Shortly after, there was an alarm spread, by the report that one of the godowns that was about catching, had a quantity of gunpowder in it. The proprietor allayed any apprehension on that score, by contradicting the report. Up to this time, the Naval and Military had worked well; as, to do them justice, all the officers and some few of the men continued to do throughout the day. Colonel Knox, of H. M.'s 2nd 9th, was in all directions trying to direct the efforts of his men—and Admiral KING and Captain JONES from the Princess Royal, with Captains COURTENAY, STEVENS and WADDILOVE, with detachments from H. M. S. Scylla, Perseus and Adventure, used every possible exertion. Lieut. BOND

with his Sappers worked with the utmost zeal throughout the whole day ; but all seemed hopeless ; there was no impression made upon the general conflagration ; and in spite of everything that the proprietors and their employes could do—in spite of the willing and hearty co-operation of their friends and of all who had hands to help, and the daring of the soldiers and sailors, the fire had it all its own way. At length, it was determined to blow up a number of buildings across the line the flames seemed likely to take, and a commencement was made in the house of Mr. VAN DER TAK (the Netherlands Trading Company). A protest was made by the owner, and, it is said, by some of the Consuls ; but the Admiral, deeming it the only thing that could be done to cut off the communication, persisted. Whether the step was judicious I will not pretend to say, for the *débris* of the house caught and burnt to ashes. The adjoining house, the Club, however, was not consumed, although it caught fire once or twice ; but it was terribly shaken by the explosions, and much damage was done to it. The exertions of Mr. SMITH and his staff succeeded in extinguishing every ignition that occurred. In most instances the houses blown down subsequently ignited and became an easy prey to the flames ; and the last—a new fire-proof godown belonging to Messrs. TEXTOR & Co.—was only saved from combustion by a miracle,—as the stone work having been all shaken down—left the woodwork quite exposed, and at nightfall, the premises exactly opposite—No. 8—having been entirely destroyed, the wind changed, and a perfect rain of sparks fell among the rubbish. How it failed to ignite, was simply miraculous—and if it had caught, there is no knowing where the mischief would have stopped. As it was, the buildings of which it formed a part, escaped through the resistance the corresponding fireproof walls,

on the opposite side, offered to the fire—so that, with the exception of the sparks before-mentioned, the fire did not reach that limit. On the Bund the first building that escaped was the French Hospital. It was proposed to blow this up—but the Commissaire objected so strenuously, that the idea was, as it happened, fortunately abandoned. The house of Mr. DAVIES (ADAMSON & Co.,) on No. 28 was in great peril. Some of the other buildings on the lot were destroyed. At one time it seemed that Nos. 54 to 58 in the Main Street must inevitably go—but happily, although all received some damage, it was of no very great extent. To save them, however, their owners had to use almost incredible exertions, and but for the assistance of a party of men from one of the merchant ships, No. 58 could not have been saved. The blocks destroyed then, were 1, 2, 3, 4,—a part of 5, 6, 7,—(Bungalow saved, but much damaged) 8, 21, 22, 23 (small bungalow saved) 24, 25, 26, 27, part of 28, part of 29 blown down, 40, 41, 41A, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48 (part saved but much injured), 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, part of 54, 70, 71, 72 and No. 89. In addition to these, the block of buildings containing the French, American, Portuguese and Prussian Consulates and the old British Consulate buildings; the newly built American Consulate—the whole of Bonded Warehouse A, and all the adjoining buildings—the whole of the Japanese Custom House and the fire-engine house. Of the native town, fully two thirds were utterly destroyed within two hours of the original bursting forth of the flames. Many declared the whole to have been the determined work of incendiarism; but there can be no proof of anything of the sort, and the Japanese must therefore have the benefit of the doubt. The fact of the origin being so far from the Foreign settlement, seems to disprove it, as it is hardly likely that for the sake of

burning down the foreign residences, any would be so foolish as to burn down the greater part of their own town—especially as it was bringing certain ruin on thousands, upon the chance of injuring hundreds.

Up to about 11 o'clock the men belonging to the services worked well. By that time, however, so many had found the means of obtaining drink, that they became, with a few honourable and fine exceptions, almost uncontrollable. It was impossible to keep them immediately under the eyes of their officers, and the moment they were out of reach, their worst passions were quickly and deplorably exhibited. It was most humiliating to see fine fellows, in whom ordinarily their country has such pride, so completely lost as on this memorable occasion; for I never saw men so utterly and helplessly drunk as many of those were, on whom so much dependence was placed for help. One gentleman whose godowns were on fire, went into his house adjoining them, and in the dining room found several who had been sent to assist in removing some of the things, helping themselves to wine with such determination, that he had to draw his revolver to drive them out. Many of the men went in only for plunder; and I heard one say to a sentinel, who was true to his duty—"Now, you look here. You may as well shut your eyes a bit, and we can all divide afterwards." One man was also heard asking his comrade if he knew which were the best houses in the place;—a question asked in a way that revealed plainly the meaning of the questioner. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 P.M. the wind changed as it was feared it would, and there seemed but little hope of confining the flames to the ground they occupied. With the change, however, came moderation; and there was no longer that fierce furnace blast that made every spark a match. The fire ceased to spread, and although on the space over which

it had sway, several large godowns were still blazing, it seemed to burn more quietly, and to content itself with the victims it already had, without seeking for more. Up to seven o'clock the wind continued light, and after that time veered to seaward again. Thus danger seemed to lessen; men's minds became less perturbed; and apprehensions for the remainder of the settlement sunk to rest.

In the course of the morning many persons who felt fearful of the spread of the flames had caused their furniture to be removed, as they hoped, to places of safety. In several instances the buildings to which they were thus taken were destroyed, and of course, everything in them.

The activity, zeal, anxiety and watchfulness for their employers' interest, of the Chinese compradores and servants connected with the various Hong's, were everywhere observable. In most instances, too, the Japanese servants behaved very staunchly, and stood to their posts at their masters' houses, in spite of apprehensions for the safety of friends or relatives in the native town.

On Tuesday morning—some of the Japanese were already beginning to get up shanties almost upon, and certainly among, the smouldering ruins of their former domiciles.

It was ascertained that the fire had its origin in a small cookshop. Some grease dropping on to the fire, caused a blaze that caught the dry wood-work, and in a few minutes attained mastery over the whole place.

An incident occurred the same morning, between Kana-gawa and Yoshida, which reminded us that foreigners must continue to be on their guard beyond the limits of the settlement. As Mr. VAN DER TAK was driving home from Yedo, having a lady in the phaeton with him, a drunken samurai drew his sword, and gave chase for a

considerable distance. From the top of Nōge hill, near the Governor's house, to the bottom, Mr. VAN DER TAK was obliged to keep his horses at full speed, to avoid the fellow; but he succeeded in distancing him, although at the risk of an accident to horses or to carriage, through the rapid descent.

I do not know that I attach any importance to the fact, but it certainly is extraordinary, that 1866 acts up to the charter, and refuses to allow November to pass without trouble to foreigners. It will be remembered that poor Baldwin and Bird were murdered in November; and most of the untoward events that have succeeded each other in the history of Japanese and foreign intercourse, have happened at about this period of the year.

The total clearance made by the fire, afforded an opportunity for making new arrangements with the Japanese authorities, which led to the improvements now so fully developed in the locality. The whole of the Swamp was filled in; thus removing a source of rheumatic and febrile complaints, then very common. A recreation ground was formed, 375 yards long by 280 yards broad; a portion of which is now rented to the Yokohama Cricket Club. But the main feature was the noble road, 130 feet wide, which divides the foreign and native settlements, and which is lined, on the one side with Japanese official buildings—the Custom-house, the Post-office, the Ken-cho, and the Central Police office; on the other, by the British and American Consulates and other buildings, with a pretty shrubbery bounding the road in front of the edifices, throughout its entire length. In the foreign settlement, by a judicious alteration in the shape of the allotments, in most instances much to the advantage of the owners, who therefore gladly acquiesced in it, improvements were made in the streets of the settlement; so that this terrible calamity,

which was so disastrous to individuals, became a means of securing considerable advantages to the general public. But it was a long time before it could be said that Yokohama recovered from the effects of this fire ; and the year 1866 could hardly be said to close brightly.

Yet, great as was the catastrophe that had befallen Yokohama, it was as nothing compared with that which followed it in Yedo.

From the fact that all houses in Japan are constructed principally of wood, fires, especially during the winter, are very frequent ; and in Yedo, from the close packing and the numerous shingle roofs, they are extremely destructive.

On the 14th December, a fire broke out near Nihon Bashi, (the bridge from which all roads are officially measured), and was not extinguished until such a space was cleared as led to a calculation that, had the houses and edifices destroyed, been placed in a line, side by side, they would extend to a distance of 16 ri, or over thirty nine miles. The fire consumed all the wooden edifices in its way ; but “ most of the godowns considered to be fire-proof proved to be so, only about from 100 to 200 being consumed ; and, as they are counted by thousands this is not a large per-centage ! ”

CHAPTER IV.

DEATH OF THE TYCOON IYEMOCHI.—ROUNDABOUT METHOD OF MAKING IT KNOWN.—THE CAUSE OF DEATH.—HIS BURIAL AT SHIBA.—WITNESSED BY BUT ONE FOREIGNER.—HITOTSUBASHI'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE OFFICE OF SHOGUN.—APPEALS TO THE MIKADO FOR CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT. CALLS A COUNCIL OF DAIMIOS, AND LAYS HIS PLANS BEFORE THEM.—HITOTSUBASHI ENTITLED TO SYMPATHY.—HE INITIATES MANY REFORMS, AND IMPARTS ENERGY TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—JAPANESE STUDENTS AT FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES.—VISIT OF INABE MINO-NO-KAMI TO YOKOHAMA.—THE NEW TYCOON DISPATCHES AN EMBASSY TO RUSSIA.—LEGALISATION OF RICE PURCHASES FROM FOREIGNERS.—INTENTION OF THE TYCOON TO ESTABLISH LEGATIONS AT FOREIGN COURTS.

In September 1866, rumours, which had reached us for some days, of the death of the young Tycoon, were converted into certainty; but we now had an amusing instance of the curious roundabout way in which such events are made public in Japan.

From sources open to me as a member of the fourth estate, I had information of the decease, by the 4th

September—it having taken place on the 28th August ; and I published it on the 8th September. Yet on the 22nd of that month the Government report was, that “being extremely ill, the Tycoon had appointed HITOTSUBASHI to take the direction of affairs.”

In reality they had intelligence of his actual death ; but the custom was, that such an event was not promulgated until everything was settled with regard to the successor. The new Tycoon had to be elected by the daimios specially privileged as electors ; the choice was then made known to the Mikado, and he, having approved of the selection, confirmed it. The Tycoon then himself informed the Gorōjin of his appointment, and the Gorōjin sent forth the decree, announcing, simultaneously, the decease of the old, and appointment of the new, ruler.

Dr. BAUDUIN, Superintendent of the Medical College at Nagasaki, had been sent for to prescribe for the suffering prince ; but he arrived at Osaka on the 29th of August, just a day too late to see him alive. He immediately left for Yedo, and was kind enough to call on me, and give me the following information.

The young Tycoon had been for months in such a condition as to cause great uneasiness. In addition to a tendency to dropsy he had heart disease. Added to these, *kakké*, a malady very common, and generally fatal, in Japan—a kind of swelling in the legs, resulting in the loss of the use of those limbs, particularly the lower extremities—had shown itself ; but the actual cause of death was disease of the heart. Dr. BAUDUIN gathered from the officials he conversed with at Osaka, that the late Tycoon felt acutely the non-success of his army ; and this, operating on his spirits, the sufferings he endured from *kakké*, and the general unhealthy state of his body, all helped to hasten the crisis. He was only 21 years of

age; and it is not surprising that, with such accumulated infirmities, he was unequal to the exertion the troubles of his Government called for.

His remains were conveyed to Yedo; and on the 31st of October, were consigned to their final resting place at the Shiba Shrines. The funeral obsequies occupied several days.

I think I am not far wrong in stating that the procession to Shiba was witnessed but by one foreigner—one of the youngest members of a foreign legation—who, now, strangely enough, holds an honorable and confidential position, in the employ of the Japanese Government.

If this fact should meet the eye of the gentleman alluded to, he may be desirous of learning how I became acquainted with it?

In the 31st chapter of the first volume of this work, I mention a young Japanese gentleman as having called upon me, on the subject of the incarceration of the unsuccessful envoys of 1864. That same gentleman brought me a letter shortly afterwards, complaining of the conduct of the young foreign interpreter, mentioning his name, and asking me to publish this remonstrance. I replied that I could tell them what the consequences would be, if, on enquiry, the statements in the letter proved to be true; and appealed to him, whether, for such an offence, the writers of the letter would desire to ruin the prospects of the aggressor? He said that he would enquire; and in three or four days returned to say that they would not, and therefore wished that the letter should not be published. It was remarkable that the same circumstance should have been alluded to in 1872, in a conversation with an old officer of the former government, as recorded on page 157 of the first volume.

HITOTSUBASHI was very unwilling to take the reins in hand. No one saw more clearly than he, the difficulties

he would have to encounter. He therefore appealed to the Mikado either to excuse him, or to extend to him his full confidence : to give him personal audience at all times : to uphold him in maintaining the treaties with foreigners' as well as in his internal policy : and to refuse to listen to any absurd reports of disloyalty or negligence of duty that might be carried to him. He further suggested that the war with CHOSHU should cease ; as likely to lead to no beneficial result, and perhaps tend to excite the minds of other daimios to a similar policy. The Mikado promised that all should be as he wished, and that he should have his entire support.

But the great opposition to be feared was from the daimios. Until lately, HITOTSUBASHI and SATSUMA were reported as being very friendly ; both being desirous of introducing reforms into the country. It was a common remark that two such men working together to this end, must have an immense influence for good. But after a time HITOTSUBASHI perceived that it was not only a reformation in the government that was aimed at by SATSUMA, but a change of dynasty ; and thus a coolness had resulted between them.

Still SATSUMA was but one of many daimios ; and HITOTSUBASHI knew very well the impossibility of successfully carrying on the government if they continued the course that several had adopted during the last few years. A Council of Daimios was therefore held at Osaka, at which many of the most important and powerful attended, including SHIMADZU SABURO, (under his new title of MATSUDAIRA OSUMI-NO-KAMI), who was there as the representative of SATSUMA. The new Tycoon was present, and himself opened the proceedings.

He commenced by telling them plainly of his aversion to accepting the office to which he had been elected and confirmed. It was a position utterly untenable without

their active cooperation ; and he should not hesitate in relinquishing it upon the first decided signs of hostility and disaffection. At the same time, in order that they might know what measures he invited them to support, he informed them, that, as Shogun, he should expect their aid and loyalty to himself as the legitimate and responsible Administrator of the Government ; and that their views, whenever they desired to make them known to him, should be intimated in a respectful and dutiful manner, as to the Head of the Nation, under the Mikado, and the duly elected and approved successor of GONGEN-sama, the founder of the Tokugawa house. With regard to the Choshu question, it was his intention to settle it as quickly as possible, and on as equitable terms as lay in his power ; with a view to subsequently consolidating the whole of the forces of Japan into a regular and effective army. The Foreign Treaties he considered to have been duly and deliberately concluded by his predecessors ; and he owed it to himself and the empire at large, to prove to foreigners, that the Japanese were as willing and determined to act up to their treaty obligations as themselves. He also mentioned, that, on the occasion of the opening of Hiogo, he looked forward to an opportunity of entertaining the Foreign Ministers at the castle of Osaka, in such a manner as to prove to them the sincerity of the loyal intentions of the Government of Japan.

From this meeting the best results were anticipated. It is impossible not to feel intense sympathy with HITOTSUBASHI, when we reflect upon all that has since taken place. It will be remembered that he was the favourite son of the Prince of Mito who had shown the greatest hostility to the intercourse with foreigners, and had been one of the most active originators of the opposition to the Government of the Tycoon. He had

indeed been adopted as the son and heir of the Prince HITOTSUBASHI ; but as the real son of a daimio of extreme radical views, it may be supposed that he started in life with similar opinions. It is now sometimes alleged against him, that he was inert and even cowardly in the latter days. But he had, as I have just related, distinctly said that he would resign if he had not the requisite support. That he was not originally either inactive or cowardly, we may infer from the fact that he, of all others, had been selected as the guardian of the young Tycoon ; and it is evident that, in this capacity, he soon realised the unmistakeable fact, that, whether the making of treaties was right or wrong ; and whether the Tycoon IYESADA, or his representative the Gotairo, had, or had not, legitimately the power to enter into them, the deed was done, and the treaties must be maintained. We have seen how prominent a part he took in obtaining the Mikado's sanction ; and up to the very last, he was most true to all the engagements they imposed upon Japan. He initiated many reforms for which the present Government obtains the credit ; and whatever advantages there may be—and undoubtedly there are many—in having the Government in its present shape—he had foreseen them, and declared his hope of gradually bringing it about. It is my sincere belief that, had he been permitted to work in his own way, we should have seen Japan make as rapid progress as she has made, without all the horrors of revolution, and repeated outbreaks of internal strife, that have occurred.

Up to the time of the Tycoon's death, it is evident that the war with Choshu had been conducted in a most desultory manner. It seems incredible that the majority of the Tycoon's army denounced the rifle as the weapon of cowards. Their opponents thought otherwise. Strange was it to hear, that, although the Government had

upwards of three hundred thousand rifles, it had only ten thousand men who would use them.

From the accession of the new Tycoon, all was put on a better footing. An amount of energy was exhibited by the Government such as gave good promise for the future; and as HITOTSUBASHI was known to be no personal enemy of MORI DAIZEN, the Choshu chieftain, a peace might probably have been effected, creditable to all. As it was, the Mikado issued his command that the war should cease; and so, without any change in the independent demeanour of CHOSHU, he appeared before foreigners as master of the situation.

One of the most notable occurrences of the latter part of 1866, was the issue of a proclamation by the Gorojiu, permitting persons of all ranks to visit foreign countries, provided they obtained passports from their own daimio, or from the Government. The privilege was quickly availed of; but, at first, the majority of those who went abroad did so at the expense of Europeans as acrobats or servants. There were, however, already several young men studying in Europe. Indeed, on the 26th June of that year, the *Aberdeen Herald*, in a list of scholars who had shown special merit in the various educational institutions of the city, the name of one of these gentleman appears very frequently. We have since become accustomed to see Japanese names among the successful in "honours" in universities, both in the old and the new world; but I think that KANAYE NAGASAWA, sent to Scotland by the Prince of SATSUMA, under the auspices of Mr. T. B. GLOVER of Nagasaki, was one of the first of those Japanese students who so distinguished themselves. Almost all of those who had previously gone to Europe for education had done so under the care of Mr. GLOVER; and several of them he personally assisted by more than mere advice. I doubt not that at least two gentlemen,

now occupying positions among the highest it is possible for subjects to hold in Japan, will gladly acknowledge this.

Early in November, one of the Gorojiu, INABA MINO-NO-KAMI visited Yokohama for the purpose of being present at the examination of the students at the Franco-Japanese college, presided over by M. l'Abbé MERMET DE CACHON, at Benten. The opportunity was seized by Sir HARRY PARKES to shew him fitting attentions; amongst which were the inspection of H.M.S. Princess Royal, and a review of the 2nd battalion of H.M. 9th Regiment.

There remain one or two incidents to be mentioned before I close this account of the year's doings. An Embassy was dispatched by HITOTSUBASHI to the Emperor of Russia, for the purpose of agreeing as to boundaries in Saghalien, and to remove difficulties arising out of the joint occupation of that island by Japan and Russia. The Envoy of the Tycoon was KOIDE YAMATO-NO-KAMI, Governor of Hakodate, and also a Governor of Foreign Affairs. He was the bearer of a portrait of HITOTSUBASHI, and a letter to the Emperor, stating, that the writer would have desired to see the Czar in person; but as his affairs here prevented that, he sent his Envoy, who would present his portrait to His Majesty.

And yet another fact. On the 16th November a proclamation was issued by the Gorojiu, allowing the free purchase of Rice. Hitherto any dealings with foreigners, in this staff of life in Japan, had been strictly prohibited; but famine knocked at the door, and the bolts were withdrawn:—

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOROJIU.

“It has come to our hearing that the unsuccessful harvest in the different provinces, has caused the price of Rice to rise, and that the people suffer in consequence. Although the Government intends to buy foreign Rice,

this should not deter other persons from purchasing foreign Rice, with the view of increasing supplies ; and they are therefore at liberty to purchase as freely as they may wish from foreign merchants.

Yedo, November 16th, 1866."

Last of all, one of the most convincing proofs of the enlightened policy intended to be followed by the new Yedo chief was, that he was announced to be favourable to the establishment of permanent Legations at the Courts of the principal Treaty Powers. This great *desideratum*, now happily carried out by the Mikado's Government, was thus proposed by him ; and delayed for years, by the troubles that will presently have to be described.

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF KOMEI TENNO.—PUBLIC FEARS.—THE MOURNING.—ACCESSION OF THE PRESENT EMPEROR.—THE BROTHER OF THE TYCOON ACCREDITED AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE AT THE “ EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE ” IN PARIS.—THE TYCOON INVITES THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TO OSAKA.—THE MINISTERS’ DEPARTURE FOR OSAKA AND THEIR GRATIFYING RECEPTION.—THE TYCOON HIMSELF THE ORIGINATOR OF THE PLEASANT EXISTING INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPANESE AND FOREIGNERS.—DANISH TREATY SIGNED.—SIR HARRY PARKES OBSTRUCTED BY A DRUNKEN SAMURAI.—A DRUNKEN FRENCH SAILOR KILLED IN YOKOHAMA.—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST P. M. S. S. CO.’S STEAMER FROM SAN FRANCISCO.—BENEFITS TO YOKOHAMA.—AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.

THE political events hitherto recorded followed one another so rapidly, one after the other, and had such an important bearing on those we have yet to describe, that I have felt compelled to treat of them at considerable length and in detail. The year 1867, so far as foreigners are concerned was one of comparative quiet. There was trouble enough in Kioto; but as it affected us at the time but little, it will not occupy any great space in my narrative.

The most important event of all was the death of the Mikado, KOMEI TENNO, who had proved himself such an opponent of foreign intercourse. It is to be presumed that, having at length given his sanction to the treaties, he would thenceforward act consistently in upholding them. The favour with which he regarded HITOTSUBASHI, too, might have proved a great support to him, and prevented the climax that was reached at the beginning of the following year.

The reigning name of the deceased monarch was KINJO KOŌ THEI. He died at Kioto on the 3rd February 1867, in the thirty seventh year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. He left one son, sixteen years old, who succeeded him; and who still fills the throne of Dai Nippon.

Physically powerless and passive as the occupants of the sacred throne had long been, they still maintained a great moral sway over the nation; and although many affected to disbelieve his existence, yet the Mikado was regarded with a kind of superstitious veneration. Under any circumstances it may be supposed that the decease of one so high and holy, would deeply affect the people; but in this case it was held to be especially deplorable; as the disease of which he died—small-pox—was one, which though common in the country, had never before attacked the sacred person of a Mikado. It is not, therefore, surprising, that many persons should connect his death, and its cause, with the political circumstances of the empire. They averred that his yielding in the matter of the treaties was displeasing to his deified ancestors; that his divinity had passed away, leaving him at the mercy of that relentless scourge, small-pox, like any ordinary mortal; and that thenceforth there was no telling what calamity might befall the country.

On an occasion of this kind, the nation is supposed to mourn for a period of fifty days ; during which, all outward tokens of pleasure must cease to be exhibited ; theatres must be closed ; and all musical instruments must be silent. It happened that the people were in the midst of their New Year's enjoyments, when the notification announcing the emperor's death was issued. Immediately men might be seen going about the Japanese town pulling down in all haste, the emblems and decorations placed over the doors, and in front of the houses, at this season ; holiday costumes were set aside, and visiting and pleasure-seeking of every kind were decorously brought to a close. This was the case throughout the realm ; and the general mourning was quite as impressive as that exhibited in other countries on the death of a monarch.

The fifty days of mourning were succeeded, as usual, by the ceremonies connected with the accession of the new sovereign. Of course none could know much about the young prince. He was the son of a lady of the Court who was not even of the number of the Gontenji —i.e., of the twelve wives permitted by custom to the Mikado, in addition to the Empress ; and, whatever his education may have been, the influences under which he had been brought up, were certainly not such as to give any expectation of his taking any more active part in the Government of the country than his predecessors had done.

It was thought by many that it was well for him and for the Empire that such a man as HITOTSUBASHI was at the head of affairs. Foreigners especially had good reason to hope for the best ; for evidences were now constantly given of the enlightened plan on which he desired to govern.

One of the first acts of the Tycoon in this year was to

accredit his brother MIMBU-TAIYU, a youth about the same age as the young Mikado, as his representative at the great "Exposition Universelle" about to be held in Paris. For the first time Japan took part, nationally, in one of the grand "worlds' fairs"; and Europe acknowledged, with enthusiastic admiration, the beauty and excellence of her display. Scores of her sons now visited the western countries for study or for enjoyment; and speedily the principal cities of Europe became familiar with visitors from the land of the Rising Sun.

But one of the best proofs he gave of the liberality of his intentions towards foreigners, was, his invitation to the Ministers of the Treaty Powers, to visit him at Osaka, in order to settle the important question of the opening of Hiogo. At the beginning of the year he caused communications to be made to them on the subject, which resulted in their Excellencies the English, French, American and Dutch, ministers, leaving Yokohama in the month of April, on that pleasant visit, which must always be remembered, by those who took part in it, as one of the most agreeable of all their experiences in Japan.

Of course, in the uncertainty as to the state of public feeling, and considering the fact of the discontented ronins being still in the neighbourhood, it was felt by the Government and the foreign guests, that the latter should be accompanied by a sufficient display of force to be prepared for any emergency.

Sir HARRY PARKES sent forward the mounted Escort, under Captain APPLIN; with a guard of 40 men of H.M. 9th regiment, under the command of Captain DAUNT. Messrs. MITFORD, SATOW and ASTON, of H.M. Legation, also went down in the Argus, preceding the minister by some days, in order that all the preparations for his reception might be completed before his arrival. His

Excellency left a few days later, accompanied by Lady PARKES and one of his children, Mr. LOCOCK the Secretary of Legation, Dr. WILLIS and Mr. WILKINSON; and Lieut. BRADSHAW of the 9th regiment.

The Dutch corvette Watergeus conveyed H. E. Mr. VON POLESBROECK; and the French and American Ministers followed in the *Guerrière* and *Wyoming* respectively. The following account of the visit was given me by Mr. VON POLESBROECK on his return, and will be read with interest even now.

On the 2nd May, H. E. Sir H. PARKES and suite were admitted to a private audience with the Tycoon. At the conclusion of the audience the mounted escort passed in review before His Majesty, and went through various evolutions under the command of Capt. APPLIN, which appeared to give great pleasure. The British Minister and suite were then conducted into a room in which was laid a grand dinner, cooked and served in the French style, and at which all the plate and glass were of the best European make. The Tycoon himself did the honours of his table. He sat at its head, with Sir HARRY PARKES on his right hand.

After dinner, dessert was placed on the table, and the Tycoon proposed the health of the Queen of Great Britain, and afterwards of the British Minister; to both of which toasts Sir HARRY responded. The party having risen from the table, adjourned to another apartment, where coffee was served, and the Tycoon's officers brought in presents from his Majesty.

The following day, H.E. the Dutch Minister had a private audience. It was similar in all respects to that of the English Minister. On the arrival of the U.S. Minister, a few days later, he was received in like manner; and, finally, H. E. M. LEON ROCHES enjoyed the Tycoon's hospitality—on that occasion the band of the

Guerrière being in attendance. Some days after the private audiences came the official receptions in the same order.

At these latter, the Japanese officers were in full Court costume—with the long trowsers trailing a long way behind them on the ground; and on their surcoats their own and the Tycoon's arms embroidered in front. On their heads they wore a curious little black cap.

On the arrival of the ministers at the palace, they were received by the Commissioner of Foreign affairs, and led before the Tycoon, to whom they bowed respectfully and addressed a few complimentary words; to which, the Tycoon, who received them standing, replied in appropriate terms.

They were then led into another room by the Prime Minister, ITAKURA IGA-NO-KAMI, and rich imperial Court suits, with the royal arms embroidered on them, were presented to each of them. The Tycoon was dressed in a very rich white silk dress, with his arms embroidered in pink on the front—wide trowsers and a little black cap, with a very handsome sword in his girdle, and another on a stand by his side.

In the private audiences, the rooms were all furnished in the first style of European luxury; the floors covered with rich Brussels carpets, and the walls papered with gilt paper, on which were birds and flowers. In the official audiences the things were all Japanese, the floors being covered with mats. The roofs were handsomely carved and gilt, with coats of arms, flowers, etc. They were also very lofty.

"The Tycoon is a man of ordinary stature, with a pleasant and very intelligent face, very bright sparkling eyes, and a voice of remarkable sweetness. His manner is most easy and refined. He had never sat down to European dinners before he did so on this occasion. As

no Japanese is admitted into his presence who does not wear the royal arms, the Chamberlain had to superintend the whole of the arrangements and service.

"The Ministers were all very much pleased both with the public and private audiences accorded to them. The time of their stay was chiefly occupied in conferences among themselves and with the Gorōjin. The 40 men of the 9th regiment who went up as the English Minister's guard, were put through the bayonet exercise and other drill before the Tycoon. The French marines also went through their drill in his presence, and he expressed himself as much gratified.

"Mr. SUTTON, of H. M. Surveying ship *Serpent*, had the honour of a sitting from the Tycoon, and took a capital photographic likeness of him. It is small, for unfortunately the boat in which the larger lenses and some of the chemicals were, was upset, and they were lost.

* * * * *

"During the stay of the Ministers at Osaka, their dinners and breakfasts were supplied at the expense of the Tycoon, under the superintendence of a French cook. Every luxury was provided; and, in a word, the whole affair was on the most liberal scale possible. On the occasions of the audience, all the way from the Legations to the castle, a distance of nearly two miles, the streets were lined with troops on both sides, armed with Enfield Rifles, who presented arms as the ministers passed. The court-yard of the palace and the corridors were also lined with troops."

From this it will be seen that the existing pleasant intercourse between foreigners and Japanese of high estate was originated by the Tycoon himself; and by none other. I am particularly desirous of impressing this upon my readers.

My reason will be easily understood. It is to correct the erroneous notions of those, who, ignorant of the facts, have nothing but praise for the progress they suppose to have originated with the present *régime*, and who have not a good word for the ruler under *l'ancien*

régime. I always contended, and I maintain the same opinion to this day, that had HITOTSUBASHI been allowed to work out his plans in his own way, we should have seen by this time quite as great an advance as we see to-day; and it would have been more sound and solid. There would have been no sanguinary revolution; and yet the Mikado would have been restored to the fullest powers. This had already been reported as a portion of his scheme. There would have been, long ere now, a representative assembly; and as the country would not have been put to the heavy expenses incurred in the civil strife of 1868 and the Formosan expedition, there would not have been all the financial trouble that has been, is being, and will be increasingly, experienced, in the empire. There would have been no Saga, no Satsuma, rebellions. It is most likely that the daimios would have retained their princely names, and been an acknowledged hereditary nobility; but arrangements would have been peacefully made by which they would have been relieved of the old feudal duties and responsibilities; for a standing army was a part of the Tycoon's design; and this would have involved, necessarily, a modification of the old relations between the daimios and the ruler, with regard to revenues. The word "republic" would never have been heard in connection with Japan—a word that I have heard used by some of the most prominent men in the Government in a way that has surprised me, and which has appeared incredible to all foreigners less in communication with the natives. Things have settled down now, and such talk has to a great extent become a thing of the past. If there be one sentiment more thoroughly rooted in the minds of the masses than any other, it is that of devotedness to the Mikado; and so it has always been. But during the years immediately following the revolution, and down to

four or five years ago, there were some ambitious men, who said that progress pointed to republicanism. Nothing of the kind is heard now.

On the 12th January 1867, H.E., D. DE GRAEFF VON POLESBROECK, in his capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary for H.M. the King of Denmark, concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, between that kingdom and Japan. This made the eleventh treaty entered into with foreign countries—the others being England, America, France, Holland, Russia, Portugal, Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy.

But whilst the relations between Japan and foreign powers were thus improving, there were constantly small occurrences of a disagreeable character, to remind us of the past; and to demonstrate that we still had enemies in the country, against whom we must be on our guard.

On the last day of the old year, as H.E. Sir HARRY PARKES was riding through Shinagawa, he was confronted by a two-sworded man, who planted himself in the middle of the road, in a threatening attitude, with his sword partially drawn. The Japanese mounted guard, appointed by the Government for the protection of the Minister, being called upon to arrest the fellow, looked every way but the right, and would have allowed him to escape. But Sir HARRY was not the man to allow such insolence and bravado to go unpunished. Seeing that the Japanese Guard was disinclined to act, he rode for the man himself, followed by the Sergeant Major of his English Escort. The man seeing Sir HARRY approach, returned his sword fully into its sheath, and took to his heels; but he was overtaken and brought to bay, pale as death. The native Escort then came up, bound him, and at the order of Sir HARRY, led him a prisoner to the British

legation, where he was shortly afterwards delivered up to an officer who had been specially sent to receive him.

A couple of days later, another French sailor, belonging to the *Guerrière*, met his death at the hands of Japanese in Yokohama. It was his own fault entirely. He was very drunk, and rendered himself obnoxious to the natives he met, by assaulting them indiscriminately. At last he entered a house, close to the temple dedicated to *Kompira Sama*, (which at the time stood in a small square leading out of *Ota-machi*), and, molesting a woman belonging to the house, dragged her into the street, and beat her. He then went further, and running after a small Japanese boy, who, however, outstripped him, he came to some officials and workmen measuring and inspecting a newly-made bridge. Taking a stick from one of the officials, he struck him with it—or, as the only European who witnessed the outrage, deposed—"beat him most brutally, and tried to throw him into the canal." The European, after unsuccessfully trying to induce the man to cease, himself went for the police; but when he returned to the spot, with the officers, the man was dead. Not the Japanese officers who had been attacked, and who might have used their swords, but the crowd, took the matter in hand; and the death resulted from a blow on the temple with "a stake about the size of a thick bamboo."

If there be such a thing as chance, we must attribute to it the fact that this fatal retribution seemed to overtake French offenders only. Certainly they were no greater sinners than men of other nationalities in their cups. The English military and marine outnumbered those of all other nations. They were every day roaming about the Japanese town in large numbers: and although the intemperate were but a small proportion of the whole, yet there never was a day passed,

without some making themselves more or less offensive, under the influence of the vile decoctions with which they were supplied at the "rum-mills." It speaks volumes for the good temper and forbearance of the common people, that they bore as they did, all the vulgar and irritating language and actions of these men. There was not a foreign resident in the settlement who did not feel ashamed of it; and the respectable men of the ships and the garrison regretted it more than all—for they felt, and that truly, that the stigma attached itself to all the cloth.

Up to this time Japan might truly be looked upon as Ultima Thule of the hemisphere. The Far East, a term applied to the shores of China and Japan as distinguished from the Indian possessions of Great Britain and Holland, was as correct as it was expressive; for almost all the traffic from Europe and the Atlantic States of America, reached these distant regions by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and sailing eastward, with the necessary northing, to their journey's end. But now a great innovation was about to be made. For a long time it had been talked of that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, (an American enterprise having its head quarters in New York), was building a magnificent class of steamers, specially for the voyage between San Francisco, Yokohama and Hongkong, to run primarily in connection with steamers of the same Company to Panama and New York, and at Aspinwall with transatlantic steamers; and eventually in connection with the railway that was in progress of construction across the North American continent.

Accordingly, on the 24th January 1867, the first of these, the Colorado, arrived in Yokohama. Of 3750 tons register, she was not only the largest merchant-ship ever seen in these waters, but, as a passenger ship, all others in the India and China trade on this side of the Isthmus of

Suez, were comparative dwarfs beside her. Which of them, in addition to a coal-carrying capacity of 1200 tons, could carry 1500 tons of cargo, weight and measurement, and, in addition, provide hotel-like accommodation for nearly 300 first-class, 200 second-class, and an almost unlimited number of third-class, passengers? But this did she; and she was greatly surpassed in these capabilities by steamers of the same line that followed her. Her first voyage was made in $22\frac{1}{2}$ days, actual time, between San Francisco and Yokohama, without stopping the engines, and the consumption of coal was 950 tons.

The establishment of this line of steamers has had a marked effect upon the intercourse between Japan and foreign countries, as well as on the international cargo traffic. It was at first thought that Yokohama would be a very secondary port in its operations; and that Hong-kong and Shanghai would be its principal supporters. In one particular the expectations of the promoters were realised. They looked to the prodigious number of Chinese already in the United States, and estimated that each one of these hoped to return to China—alive or dead. They also believed that when the means existed of rapid, and comparatively comfortable, transit, between America and China, was provided, there would always be numbers running backwards and forwards on business or on pleasure. And so it proved. The crowds of Chinese they were called upon to accommodate, obliged them to give up the whole of the second class accommodation to them; and I believe that often, even then, they were compelled to shut out applicants for passages.

At the first establishment of the company, the good it brought to Yokohama was incalculable. A number of steamers of the same general character, but only about half the size, were sent out to ply between Yokohama and Shanghai: the large steamers, after discharging their

cargoes and landing their passengers for Japan and the northern ports of China, proceeding on their voyage to Hongkong. Thus, Yokohama became the central depôt of the Company. The principal office in the East was planted there, and the life it imparted to the place was unmistakeable. Gradually too, travellers, globe-trotters, came in increasing numbers ; and as most of these found much to interest them, they remained over longer or shorter periods, thus adding to the circulation of money, not among foreigners only, or mainly, but among the Japanese.

And not only was the money of mere pleasure-seekers circulated more largely. There speedily sprung up a large demand in the principal cities of the United States, for Japanese curios, and for what I will call Japanese "notions," which has gone on increasing, and now forms an important item in the freight list of the steamers—giving employment to thousands of natives at remunerative wages.

The success of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, so far as its Yokohama line was concerned, was unquestionable from the first. Doubtless it produced an effect upon the steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental S. N. Co., and the Messageries Maritimes, by diverting from them a large number of passengers ; but the course of events, including the completion of the railroad communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, and the opening of the Suez Canal, have since worked together to change the transmarine traffic between all great trading countries in the East and West.

The enterprise of the New York press was exhibited in the arrival, by the Colorado, of Mr. ALFRED WEILLER as local correspondent for the New York *Herald*.

CHAPTER VI.

YESO.—THE AINOS.—EXCURSION OF FOREIGNERS INTO THE AINO DISTRICTS AND DESECRATION OF GRAVES.—A SECOND EXPEDITION, AND FURTHER ROBBERY OF AN AINO CEMETERY.—COMPLAINT BY THE AINOS TO THE GOVERNOR OF HAKODATE.—DEMAND OF THE GOVERNOR ON THE BRITISH CONSUL, FOR RESTITUTION OF SKULLS AND BONES TAKEN, AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE OFFENDERS.—TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF THE ACCUSED.—THE GOVERNOR APPEALS.—NEW TRIAL.—THE FRENCH MINISTER'S REMONSTRANCE WITH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ON ACCOUNT OF THE DESECRATION OF THE GRAVES OF FRENCH SOLDIERS.—GOVERNMENT DEMAND SATISFACTION FOR THE YESO OUTRAGE, FROM THE ENGLISH MINISTER.—THE CULPRITS PUNISHED.—FINAL SETTLEMENT WITH THE AINOS.

I HAVE left until now, the relation of a very unpleasant episode, in which, unhappily, British subjects were mainly, perhaps exclusively, to blame.

The island of Yezo, which is only divided from the northern extremity of the main-land of Japan, (as the largest island of her group may conveniently be called), by the TSUGARU straits, and on which the open port of

Hakodate is situate, has one especial feature of interest. It is the *locale* of the Ainos ; a race whose origin has never yet been satisfactorily traced. By some they are thought to be descendants of the original inhabitants of Japan, who were conquered and brought into subjection by JINMU TENNO, the founder of the Empire, two thousand five hundred and forty years ago ; whilst others, among whom appears Dr. GRAY, the well-known and highly respected British Chaplain at Canton, claim for them a descent from the lost tribes of Israel.

The early Japanese records are so replete with fiction, and altogether so mythical, that from them we are able to gather absolutely nothing that is reliable. They take the ground at once from under our feet, when we would investigate the origin of JINMU TENNO and the followers with and by whom he subjugated the aborigines, by giving to the hero a heavenly descent. So that, although we may be inclined to believe that the present race of Japanese is a mixture of the conquerors and the conquered, it is a matter of the merest conjecture who the conquerors were, or whence they sprung.

But notwithstanding this uncertainty, I am inclined to believe that the Ainos of Yezo are really the representatives of the aboriginal inhabitants of all the islands. They are now exclusively confined to the northern portion of Yezo, and the southern half of Saghalien. Regarded as they have ever been with the utmost contempt by the more civilised Japanese, they have retained their own manners and customs ; living in poverty and dirt ; interdicted from forming alliances with their haughty neighbours and fellow-subjects. Idleness with them is the rule ; but fishing and hunting are favourite pursuits ; whilst seaweed, the principal export of Hakodate, is obtained from them. Religion they have none ; unless the occasional idolatrous ceremonies performed in front

of the dwelling of the village patriarch can be dignified with the name.

This functionary is distinguished by having two poles erected before his hut, each of which supports a bear's skull; and to these skulls prayers are addressed; mainly, it should seem, to deprecate the anger of the living animal, for hunting him to satisfy the cravings of hunger, and to provide a covering against the inclement northern climate.

In 1864, a Mr. WHITELY, son of an English naturalist, and himself an enthusiastic ornithologist, visited Hakodate, ostensibly for the purpose of collecting rare birds. As, however, much curiosity was entertained abroad concerning the Ainos, certain gentlemen—Captain VYSE, the English Consul; Mr. ALFRED HOWELL, agent for Messrs. DENT & Co. of China; a Russian medico, Dr. ZALESKY; and Mr. WHITELY, made up a party to visit the northern part of the island.

They visited several Aino villages; opened graves; and obtained some skulls—two of which were sent to London and one to St. Petersburg.

I have never been able to ascertain what truth there was in the assertion, that the authorities of the British Museum, or some learned society, had offered a sum of \$2,000 for a perfect skeleton of an Aino woman. Be that as it may, in October 1865, Mr. WHITELY and two Englishmen, named TRONE and KEMISH, the one the constable, the other the gaoler, of H. B. M.'s Consulate, started on another trip to the same region, accompanied by native servants leading pack-horses, laden with provisions and implements for digging. So successful were they in the object of their journey, that they returned with thirteen Aino skulls and a large collection of bones.

But they had not been unobserved. The Ainos of the village, whose cemetery had been thus desecrated, com-

plained to the Governor of Hakodate, who brought the matter before the British Consul, and demanded, not merely the restitution of the plunder but the condign punishment of the marauders.

They were tried the next day before the Consul and two assessors, (of whom Mr. HOWELL was one), and acquitted. But the Governor would not allow that it was a fair trial; and appealed against the decision, on the ground that he had not had time to produce his witnesses.

The men were brought up again, therefore; but the Consul would not give any decision; referring the matter to Yedo, for the decision of Her Majesty's Minister. Mr. WHITELEY and his two companions, however, were placed in confinement.

Now it unfortunately happened that at this every time the French Minister had a grievance against the Japanese Government of a somewhat kindred character.

The Dutch corvette Djambi, in January 1865, in passing through the Inland Sea, called at Shimonoseki, to see whether any attempt had been made to repair the forts that had been destroyed by the foreign squadron a few months before. Among others to whom a passage had been given on board the Djambi, was M. l'Abbé GIRARD, who had accompanied the French Admiral during the expedition, as his interpreter. At his request the ship visited a port on the other side of the strait, to see if the graves of some French soldiers, who had been killed in the battle of Shimonoseki and buried at this spot, had been respected.

They found the graves "destroyed and wilfully desecrated." This report was immediately sent to the French Minister, who, without loss of time, sent in an energetic remonstrance to the Government, and demanded satisfaction.

It may well be supposed that the Government found it a right down god-send that they should be able to turn the tables, and demand satisfaction from a foreign minister, for a similar outrage on a much more extensive scale.

Ultimately the three prisoners was sent down to Yokohama in an English man-of-war, to undergo a sentence of imprisonment with hard labour.

The final settlement of the affair took place shortly before the period at which I have arrived in my narrative ; and I will tell it in the words of the *North China Herald*:—

“ In order if possible to remove from the minds of the natives all trace of ill-feeling on account of the desecration of the Aino cemetery, Capt. VYSE, H.B.M.’s Consul at this port, received instructions from Sir HARRY PARKES to proceed to the villages of Mori and Otoshibé, the two places whence skulls had been stolen, and there to express in person, in the name of the British Minister, the regret that not only he, but all his countrymen felt, at the perpetration of the crime ; and in addition to distribute the sum of 1,000 ichibus in equal portions, among the relatives of those who had been disinterred. Capt. VYSE was to be accompanied by a vice-governor and a staff of Custom House officials. Unfortunately H. M.’s Consul found the native Governor of the port unwilling to give his sanction to the expedition, until the three or four skulls still missing had been restored ; the bulk, some 12 or 13 in number, having already been given up to the Custom House authorities.

“ Early in March. H. B. M.’s Osprey arrived with Mr. GOWER, to relieve Capt. VYSE, who shortly after left for Yokohama, in the above-mentioned vessel. It was not till after several interviews, and the exercise of great patience, that the Governor could be induced to give his consent, and then a further delay occurred owing to the protracted winter and heavy spring rains. On the first of June, the weather having been fair for the three previous days, and everything being in readiness, a start was fixed for the following day ; and on the morning of

the 2nd, Mr. GOWER, accompanied by a friend and Mr. ROBERTSON (an officer attached to the Consulate), left Hakodate—some three or four native officials of subordinate rank accompanying.

“Sy-go-no-pi, the first resting place, some 20 miles from Hakodate, was reached the same night. Early the following morning a Shirabe-yaku (Custom House official) arrived at the tea-house, and informed Mr. Gower that the Vice-Governor was to leave Hakodate that same day, would push on straight to Mori (8 miles from Sy-go-no-pi, and where the first distribution was to take place), and would reach there about 2 P.M.

“Mr. GOWER and party timed their departure to arrive at Mori at 1.30; but after waiting three hours, without sign of the Vice-Governor, it was decided to push on to Otoshibé, leaving word at Mori to that effect, ample time being thus afforded to the Vice-Governor to reach Mori, rest there the night, and on to Otoshibé in the morning. The business accomplished there, what had to be got through at Mori could easily be done on the return journey. From the time of arrival at Mori and departure for Otoshibé, not a single Aino was seen; the officials giving as a reason that they were assembled in a house, awaiting the distribution of the money. Leaving Mori at 4.30 P.M. Otoshibé, about 12 miles distant, was reached at 6.30 P.M.

“On the entering the village, the first sight that greeted the eyes of the travellers was two Ainos, busy mending their fishing nets on the beach. Mr. ROBERTSON, dismounting from his horse, walked up to them and addressed some few words of salutation to them in their own language, but a grunt from each was the only reply, and turning their backs, they stalked away slowly up the village. After making arrangements about quarters in the tea-house, Mr. GOWER sauntered up the street, addressing, by means of Japanese, the Ainos he came across, in a few kind words. At first they exhibited a good deal of sulkiness, but this gradually wore off, and the judicious distribution of small coin to the youthful Ainos, with here and there an ichiboo to the Patriarchs, changed ill-tempered countenances into smiling ones, and drew from the Ainos their usual form of salutes

made by raising both palms to the chin and then stroking the beard down gently. This obeisance, which they had never failed to make to foreigners on former occasions, was neglected on the first entry of the party. The following morning, the 4th, the Vice-Governor arrived, but as the old gentleman was rather shaken by his journey, business was postponed till the afternoon. The morning was passed in a visit to Urap, 10 miles from Otoshibe, and a purely Aino settlement, the only Japanese dwelling being the tea-house erected for convenience of travellers, but more particularly for the accommodation of Government officials whose duties take them, from time to time, up the coast.

"Whatever ill-feeling may have arisen from the desecration of the Aino cemeteries, the results of the visit to Urap, fully testified that it was simply confined to the two places where the crime was committed; for, on entering the village, the inhabitants turned out in large numbers, bowing and making the customary salute, and evincing by their looks and actions all kindly feeling to the foreign visitors. During the two hours stay in Urap, several Aino huts were visited, without the least sign of ill-will being exhibited by their humble occupants. The party reached Otoshibe on their return at 4 P.M., and preparations were immediately made for the ceremony of distribution, and expression of regret, on the part of the British Authorities. These were simple enough—a few coarse mats spread in the garden at the back of the tea-house, close up to the verandah, served for the Ainos—for Mr. GOWER and the officials, a bench covered with red baize was placed in the room opening on the garden. All having assembled, the Ainos to the number of 45, with their Japanese interpreter, Mr. GOWER commenced by requesting them to stand up, and, with Mr. ROBERTSON, stepping to the front of the verandah, addressed them through the interpreter, as follows:

"I am the English Consul lately arrived at Hakodate, and have been sent by my Minister to express to you the regret that my Government, in common with my countrymen, feel at the desecration of your countrymen's graves. The three men who were guilty of this crime have been severely punished, sent away from

Hakodate, and are now undergoing imprisonment. In all countries, there are good and bad men, the bad must be punished so that the good may live in peace. The expenses incurred by you in connection with the trial will be paid by my Government: and, in addition, I am directed to distribute the sum of 1,000 ichibus among you in equal portions, to the relations of those whose graves were desecrated. Now that these men have been punished I hope that no ill-feeling to foreigners will rest among you, and that you will receive all foreigners in the same kindly way as formerly.'

"Mr. ROBERTSON then proceeded to distribute the money (each sum being done up in a small packet, with an inscription outside denoting that it was a present from the English Government), to each member of this curious little assembly. After distributing the money, about 800 ichibus, (200 being reserved for Mori, Mr. GOWER again expressed a hope that all ill-feeling had been removed; and the Ainos, who had, during the address, given vent to expressions of delight, quietly dispersed, some of them making straight for the kitchen attached to the inn, there to spend a portion of their suddenly acquired wealth.

"On leaving Otoshibé the following morning, kindly farewells were exchanged, and Mr. GOWER had the satisfaction of leaving cheerful and happy faces where he had found sour and discontented ones. At MORI the same ceremony was gone through, the number of recipients in this case being only eleven, with, it is to be hoped, the same happy results. The same opportunities of testing this did not however offer themselves as at Otoshibé, as the party started immediately for Sy-go-nopi on their way back to Hakodate,—not, however, before the heart of the Japanese acting as interpreter in both places, had been gladdened by a handsome present of money.

"It is to be sincerely hoped that Englishmen may never again, in these climes, forget the sanctity attached to a grave however rude and simple, nor the respect due to the dead, however lowly and ignorant the people."

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT OF ADMIRAL KING TO CHIKUZEN.—AND OF M. LEON ROCHES TO THE TYCOON.—FOREIGNERS OBSTRUCTED ON THE TOKAIDO.—THE GOVERNMENT APOLOGISE, AND REPRIMAND THE YAKUNINS.—THE “BANKOKU SHINBUNSHI.”—OFFICIAL TRADING.—NOTIFICATION FROM THE GOVERNOR OF KANAGAWA THAT COOLIES IN YOKOHAMA SHOULD BE CLOTHED.

BESIDES the state visit of the ministers of Osaka, of which I have already written, several private visits were paid to daimios by Admiral KING and others. Admiral KING, having left Nagasaki on the 24th February 1867, on board H.M.S. *Princess Royal*, accompanied by H.M.S. *Basilisk*, arrived at Fukuoka, the chief town of the daimio of Chikuzen, situated near the entrance of the Inland Sea. A small steamer immediately went off, having on board Prince KURODA himself to pay a ceremonial visit to the Admiral. An invitation had been given to him and his officers, at Nagasaki; and now arrangements were made for the next day's proceedings. The Admiral and about thirty of his officers landed on the following morning, and at midday partook of a banquet; succeeded by a Japanese vocal and instrumental performance, and that again by a second banquet.

The prince himself is a great lover of sport. On the next day, therefore, a shooting party was formed, with excellent results. The third day, it having become known that the Admiral had assented to the daimio's wish, that the marines should land and go through some of their drill, including the bayonet exercise, the crowds of people who flocked to witness this, was described as absolutely enormous. Not only the boundaries of the parade-ground, but all the surroundings, as far as could be seen from the ground, was one moving, living mass, closely packed.

On leaving Chikuzen, the Admiral having, in passing the straits of Shimonoseki, received an invitation from the prince of CHOSHU, paid him a visit at Mitageri, about thirty miles down the coast.

Another visit that was paid was one of a semi-private character by M. LEON ROCHES to the Tycoon at Osaka. The object was to arrive at a proper understanding respecting the fulfilment of the agreement between the governments of France and Japan, respecting the arsenal at Yokoska, and the officers who had lately arrived as military instructors. The result was satisfactory to His Excellency.

Still, whilst these amenities were taking place at a distance, all was not yet as could be wished near home.

On the 1st March, fourteen English gentlemen, of whom thirteen were officers of H. M. 2nd Batt. 9th regiment, and one a midshipman of H. M. S. Scylla, were riding on the Tokaido, intending to go as far as the temple of Daishi-sama, at Kawasaki. At a distance of about ten miles from the settlement, they were stopped by a *yakunin*, who told them they could go no further, as a very great personage was at a certain house, which he pointed out to them, and which had the appearance of an official residence. There was no incivility; but on

the foreigners remonstrating, they were told that they would be permitted to proceed if they would dismount and lead their horses by the house. This they were disinclined to do ; and they were about to advance without further colloquy, when, in a moment, a barricade of ladders, doors and such like obstructions, were thrown across the road, so as effectually to prevent any peaceful progress. One or two native officers who had come up, put their hands on their sword hilts, but none attempted to draw. Eight foreigners had revolvers ; but as no ill-temper had yet appeared on either side, it was thought better to continue to treat the affair good-humouredly, and to return with a good grace.

Here was an evidence of the care taken by the Government, to prevent foreigners running into danger ; and the *yakunins* did quite right, as all right-minded persons will now admit, in stopping the equestrians before the danger they were inclined to make light of, was reached. We suppose that, strictly speaking, their duty was to prevent their own people from molesting the foreigners ; but probably this was more easily said than done.

A report of the incident, however, was sent into Colonel KNOX, who placed it in the hands of Sir HARRY PARKES. On a remonstrance being sent by his Excellency to the Japanese Government, an immediate apology was tendered. On the 5th, only four days after the occurrence, by appointment of His Excellency, Captain DAUNT, with nine or ten officers of the garrison, proceeded to Kawasaki. On arrival they were met by Messrs. MITFORD and SAROW, accompanying a high official of the Government. The *yakunins* of the village were summoned, and severely reprimanded for their conduct ; and told that any repetition of such behaviour would entail severe punishment. They offered a complete apology ; and

after enquiring of the foreign officers, whether they deemed the apology sufficient, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, the high official invited them to accompany him to the temple, which they had been debarred from visiting the preceding week. Having thus made, so fully, the *amende honorable*, the interview terminated.

About this time foreigners began to see that intercourse between themselves and the natives was so far improved, that it was possible to reach them to a larger extent than had ever before been done. Under these circumstances, it had been more than once proposed by gentlemen competent to carry the plan through, to establish a newspaper in the Japanese language, which should give the news of foreign countries by each mail. It was thought that it would gradually and imperceptibly educate the people into familiarity with foreigners and their doings ; and be a good means towards removing the barriers, which ignorance, more than anything else, opposed to them.

What many talked of, the REV. M. BUCKWORTH BAILEY, the English Consular Chaplain, actually commenced. He brought out a paper entitled *The Bankoku Shinbunshi*—the All-countries Newspaper. It was a neat production, printed from wooden blocks on Japanese paper. In the prospectus, Mr. BAILEY stated that the object was to give the current news of the day, both home and foreign, and keep the readers well-informed on subjects that should prove useful, interesting and instructive. He then proceeded to give the heads of intelligence from England, France, America, and various other countries ; as well as a *resumé* of events that had been passing in Japan.

I never could understand how it was that this enterprise fell through. It was said that the opening

numbers were disposed of to the extent of over two thousands of copies ; and if so, they must have left a handsome profit. After an irregular, short and fitful existence, it was altogether discontinued ; and nothing of the kind was again attempted for several years, when old things had passed away, and all had become new.

There was an evil that was much complained of at this time, by the mercantile community, on which some degree of acerbity was exhibited ; but which, the agitation that arose, was the means of lessening if not annihilating. I allude to what was called " official trading." With the exception of the English, French, American, Russian, Italian and Prussian, all the foreign consuls were in business as merchants ; and naturally enough, these latter made use of whatever influence their official character gave them to further their own interests. Much, however, as this was objected to, it did not arouse the indignation of the community to anything like so great a degree, as the fact, that through the influence of the French minister, certain large contracts were secured by a gentleman connected with a French commercial association, not yet actually, but only about to be, established here. During the previous summer, several steamers had come here from Shanghai, and a foreign minister had then interested himself in their disposal to the Japanese Government. Another minister, as I have already told, received \$600,000, and undertook to get out certain steamers from America ; the first of which, on arrival, produced much disappointment on its being handed over to the Government. Now came these contracts. They were for immense quantities of cloth, and other materials, principally required for the newly-determined-on dress and equipment of the native army. Hard words were both written and spoken on the occasion ; but M. LEON ROCHES denied, with an emphasis it was

impossible to discredit, that he received any advantage from the transaction personally; and, since those days we have heard of no such transactions. Trading Consuls still remain. But they do not appear to have greatly abused their powers; and no complaints are made against them. On principle, their appointment is disliked both by Japanese and foreigners. The former had a particular dislike to it; and very naturally. All their officials were of the privileged, non-trading, class. Their merchants were esteemed as occupying nearly the lowest rung of the social ladder. Consequently it seemed to them incongruous that a merchant should hold so honoured a position. They are wiser now-a-days. Even among themselves, merchants are assuming their proper platform. But prejudice is not easily eradicated: and the objection is still maintained.

It will doubtless be observed by the reader, that almost all the incidents I am now mentioning, illustrate the coming round of the people to the entertainment of foreign ideas—of foreign civilization.

Up to this time, Japanese coolies, even in the foreign settlement, during three parts of the year—i.e., always, except in the winter,—were clad as nature had clothed them, with the exception of a cloth round the loins. The Governor of Kanagawa now issued an order, that nature's dress should be supplemented by additional covering; and this was followed by one requiring that all Japanese in the neighbourhood of Yokohama should avoid such of their national peculiarities as were offensive to public decency. Probably it will amuse some of my distant readers to see the terms of the former of these:—

NOTIFICATION.

“Those who come from divers places to Yokohama, and make their living as porters, carters, labourers, coolies and boatmen, are in the habit, especially in the

summer, of plying their calling in a state bordering on nudity. This is very reprehensible; and in future no one who does not wear a shirt or tunic, properly closed by a girdle, will be allowed to remain in Yokohama. The Coolie-masters are to give liberal assistance for the suppression of such people. This notification is to be marked with the hour at which it is seen, and having quickly gone the round, is to be returned to this office.

TOBE GOVERNMENT OFFICE.

“To the Officers of the different quarters.”

“This is very reprehensible” says the circular. Yes, very! It still remains the custom in all parts of Japan out of the usual be at of foreigners. It certainly was not pleasant to us; but no Japanese ever saw any impropriety in it, until we pointed it out to them.

And they altered it to please us!

CHAPTER VIII.

APPROACHING OPENING OF THE NEW PORTS.—A “PROVISO” ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR NOT BEING OPENED EARLIER.—DISCUSSIONS AS TO THE PROBABILITIES OF TRADE IN CONNECTION WITH THEM.—THE “RULES” FOR THE NEW SETTLEMENTS SATISFACTORY.

WE were now fast approaching the period when the opening of Hiogo and Osaka, Niigata and Yedo, were to become accomplished facts. It may well be conceived that, after all that had passed with reference to these ports, and particularly after the unwillingness of the Government to hasten the opening of the two first-named a few months earlier than the time specified, even though by doing so they would have saved the exchequer the heavy demand of two millions of dollars—(two thirds of the Choshu indemnity, which, it will be remembered, would have been remitted had they acceded to this proposal)—I say, it may well be understood that after all this, the minds of foreigners began to be anxiously fixed on these coming events.

It had transpired, and I ought to have mentioned it before, that when the Mikado gave his consent to the ratification of the treaties, he did so with a *proviso*. An

important *proviso*! A *proviso* that was studiously kept from the foreign representatives! A *proviso* that fully explains why the Tycoon's Ministers preferred paying the money to opening the ports.

That *proviso* was that Hiogo should not be opened!

The Gorojiu may have acted prudently in telling the foreign ministers that the Mikado had yielded all they wanted. They got rid of their pressure for the time; and trusted to the chapter of accidents to enable them to fulfil all engagements when the time came. But it was a hazardous game. No one could have then foreseen the death both of the young Tycoon and of the bigoted barbarian-hating Mikado. Both, however, being removed from the scene, for a time, at least, the hands of the Tycoon were strengthened, and HITOTSUBASHI was enabled to promise, and ultimately secure, the opening of the much desiderated Inland Sea ports on the appointed day.

In anticipation of the long-expected event, merchants began seriously to consider whether as much was to follow the settlement of the new commercial centres as had been anticipated; discussions on this topic became the order of the day; some believing, that the opening of Osaka and Yedo in particular, were impossibilities; that we should be satisfied with Hiogo and Yokohama as depôts for those cities, and, as a concession from the Government for our assenting to the non-opening of them, that the right of travel throughout the country for the purposes of trade should be accorded to us, with the privilege of visiting Osaka and Yedo by passports. This proposal found little favour with the majority, who simply said:—"Let the treaties be adhered to. We want nothing by favour; we only require what is ours by right."

When the foreign ministers visited the Tycoon and

received his assurance that there was no uncertainty as to the Government carrying out, in its integrity, the agreement as to the port, to be opened, the discussions took another shape. It was as to whether the ports would be likely to realise the expectations formed of them. Some declared that it would be useless for either China or Yokohama firms to establish branches there; as it would only multiply expenses without adding to profits. To this it was replied that there were plenty of others waiting for a location, who would gladly establish themselves, and accept the agencies of the old houses.

But the important thing was, to ascertain as to the site the Japanese proposed to yield to us, and the rules and regulations under which residence would be allowed. As the year sped, these things became more and more a matter of absorbing interest. The Legations were engaged constantly in preparations for the coming change; and, seeing the anxiety of the community, hastened to place all the information possible before them, at the earliest moment.

A gentleman who accompanied Sir HARRY PARKES to Osaka on the occasion I have so fully described, thus wrote to me :—

“Hiogo will be a pleasant place of residence. Its neighbourhood is quite as pretty as that of Yokohama to my taste. The settlement is at some distance from Hiogo proper, and is in a little bay of its own with good anchorage, and plenty of water for big ships. The hills are at a distance of about a ri or a ri and a half at the back of the settlement, and rise, much after the manner of those around Nagasaki, to a height of about 1,500 feet.”

This was well ! But a beautiful place of residence and a splendid harbour, may both be spoilt by bad management. Witness Yokohama and its insufficient municipal regulations, and the difficulties still continually ex-

perienced by shippers through the Government control of the cargo-boats.

It was a subject for much congratulation, therefore, for the future residents of Hiogo, that when the "Rules" were published, (in the month of May), they were found to have provided against most of the evils Yokohama endured. A clause was inserted to this effect :—

"All the ground leased to foreigners at Osaka and Hiogo will be subject to the payment an annual rent calculated at a rate that will be considered sufficient to meet the expenses of keeping in repair the roads and drains, the cleansing and lighting of, and maintaining order in, the settlements, and the ordinary land-tax payable at present date to the Japanese Government."

This was just what we wanted in Yokohama. The Government had originally fixed the rate of land-rent intending doubtless to cover all expenses that would be incurred for municipal purposes ; but they estimated them on a Japanese basis ; and the sum, large though it appeared, was inadequate to cover the cost of all they had done in forming the settlement, and of all that required to be done in order to get it into order and keep it so. And now there appeared to be no means by which we could tax ourselves to make up the deficiency.

It was well that this clause was adopted in the arrangements for the new Ports. It has been the means of securing them a municipality from the first ; with ample funds for all purposes. No such troubles as Yokohama had to undergo were ever experienced in the new settlements. At this day, Kobé, the foreign settlement of Hiogo, is in all such respects, much to be envied.

The publication of the "Rules" was hailed by all expectants with much satisfaction. Later on gentlemen from the legations, and Mr. BENJAMIN SEARE on behalf of the Japanese Government, went down to assist with their advice in laying out the sites proposed for the foreigners'

locations ; and it was seen that everyone was in earnest. As a consequence, weeks before the appointed day, intending settlers of the Inland Sea ports, began to assemble in Yokohama, there quietly to await the coming event, which, they fondly hoped, was to place them in the groove that should direct them to fortune.

CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF THE KAIYO-MARU.—SAN FRANCISCO CAPITALISTS SEEK INVESTMENTS IN JAPAN.—GAS FOR YOKOHAMA.—A FOREIGNER, WHO WAS CLEARLY IN THE WRONG, STABBED BY A SAMURAI, AT NAGASAKI.—MISSIONARIES.—BROWN'S "COLLOQUIAL JAPANESE."—"HEPBURN'S DICTIONARY."—PRESENT OF ARAB HORSES FROM THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE TYCOON.—UNPLEASANT INCIDENT AT NEGISHI.

In the month of April 1867, the Tycoon had an addition to his fleet, in the fine frigate Kaiyo-maru, which I have already mentioned as being expected from Holland. In her, YENOMOTO, (now Admiral, and lately Japanese Ambassador to Russia), returned ; after studying for several years in Holland. He and the frigate will be heard of again.

One of the effects of the improved communication now established between Japan and San Francisco, began at once to display itself in the willingness of capitalists of that city, then suffering from a plethora of wealth, to make investments in Japan, if safe ones could be found, consonant with the enterprising spirit of the investors. Thus, a Mr. PEASE arrived with an offer to establish Gas-works in Yokohama on certain conditions. All he asked

was, that one fourth of the capital should be taken in Yokohama, and subscribers to the extent of 2,000 burners should agree to take the Gas. The rest of the capital would be found in San Francisco, and the town should be lighted within twelve months. There was a public meeting held in the English Consulate ; but the scheme was not sufficiently supported ; and Yokohama Foreign settlement is in nocturnal darkness at this day.

I have mentioned so many attacks upon unoffending foreigners by Japanese, that it would be unfair not to mention one of a different character that occurred at Nagasaki on the 4th May. It was on a Sunday afternoon, a young Japanese officer who had been for three years in European employ, and is therefore not likely to have had any enmity against foreigners, intending to quit Nagasaki in a vessel about leaving for Yokohama, went on shore to see some friends before sailing. While walking along the street, he accidentally jostled against a foreigner, who immediately struck him over the head with a stick. The young samurai heated with saké, but under any circumstances, bound according to Japanese notions, to resent such an insult, drew his short sword and stabbed the foreigner in the breast and back. He was arrested and delivered over to the Japanese authorities.

I must protest against the nonsense written by some who have written *their* experiences of the Japanese, and who would represent the natives as harmless as doves, being habitually brow-beaten, insulted, and driven by the excesses of foreigners to acts of retaliation. At the same time, I must admit that sometimes, in cases of assault, the foreigners have not been blameless, and in some instances have brought their fate upon themselves. I do not remember the result in the particular case mentioned above ; but the foreigner was clearly in the wrong.

It has always been the cry of some, and will, in all probability, continue to be so, that missionaries are the bane of foreign intercourse : that all the hatred shown towards foreigners both by Chinese and Japanese has originated in their dislike to them : and that the best thing that could happen, to facilitate the spread of good feeling between foreigners and natives, would be to ship off the whole of the staff of missionaries, be they of whatsoever denomination they may ; and leave the religion of the natives uninterfered with. Happily, this is not the opinion of all ; and I do not think it is that of the majority. I am sure it is a very erroneous one.

Into the general question of the usefulness or otherwise of missionaries, I do not propose to enter. As to the good done among the natives by individuals of their body, it would be easy for me to give many instances. But none will be found to call in question the benefit which the labours of certain missionaries have conferred upon their lay brethren, both in China and Japan. Among those who were the earliest to arrive in this country on the opening of Kanagawa, were two missionaries with their families—the Rev. S. R. BROWN and Dr. HEPBURN. They took up their residence at Kanagawa in temples, not distant from that occupied by the American Consulate ; and continued to reside there for some years. Both had for a long time wrought in their Master's cause in China : Mr. BROWN having for his pupils, during that period, some who are now among the most active workers for the advance of China in the civilization of the west. Dr. HEPBURN was a medical missionary—a class whose ministrations have been especially valuable, as they have found admission where none others could, by reason of their medical skill, and the relief they were able to afford in many a painful or protracted illness,

Both of these gentlemen came to Japan, with the advantage of an acquaintance with the Chinese language; and both speedily turned this to account. It greatly facilitated their study of the Japanese language; and as long ago as 1868, Mr. (now Dr.) BROWN published a grammar of the colloquial language of the Japanese, which was of considerable assistance to many foreigners, who essayed to learn to speak to the natives correctly in their own tongue.

The Japanese language has many difficulties peculiar to itself. The difference between the written language and the colloquial is great. The language of gentlemen, and what I will call 'the vulgar tongue' (meaning thereby that of common people) are also very marked in their divergences. Men and women use different expressions; so that anyone who knows anything of the language can easily tell at once, whether a speaker has learnt from the conversation of women, of servants, of gentlemen, or from the stilted classical scholar. There are among foreigners a few, but very few, who can use all these different styles as naturally as the natives themselves; but the most difficult to make useful for everyday use is the last named—the high, extremely correct, but hardly-comprehensible-to-the-uneducated, classical Japanese. Dr. BROWN's book was devoted to the colloquial; and was thus calculated to be of great usefulness.

But in the summer of 1867, Dr. HEPBURN produced a work, which, having occupied his careful and studious attention from his arrival, has proved of the greatest possible advantage both to natives and foreigners. "HEPBURN's Dictionary," with the Japanese words in roman letters, in *katakana*, and in Chinese characters, has proved the greatest help to foreigners who have wished to learn Japanese, and to Japanese who have

wished to learn English ; and it has been the means of multiplying the numbers of both.

In its compilation, Dr. HEPBURN of course had the assistance of a competent Japanese ; and it is a satisfaction to know that the sale of the book at once realised the most sanguine expectations. To this day no other, so comprehensive, has been published. If America would claim credit for anything that she has done in connection with Japan, let it not be for what PERRY, or for what HARRIS, accomplished, in making their respective treaties. I have shown that these were only obtained by working on the fears of the Japanese rulers ; and this fact takes all the gloss off of them. But let her glory—if needs must—in the fact, that, HEPBURN, one of her sons, has done more than any other, towards opening the door of knowledge to the people of Japan, and facilitating the acquisition of Japanese to those who came hither from afar.

Amenities of a very gratifying character were now constantly passing between the Japanese and foreign Governments. The Emperor of the French, at this time, sent the Count d'Incourt charged with the mission of presenting twenty Arab horses to the Tycoon.

The French had laid themselves out to show friendship to the Japanese Government. They had supplied them with guns from their own arsenals at cost price. They had lent them officers to train their soldiers. They had permitted M. VERNY, an officer of engineers in the Imperial service, to superintend the construction of a dock-yard at Yokoska ; besides otherwise assisting them in a variety of ways. The present now sent must have been very acceptable to the Tycoon. Horsemanship is one of the sciences in which it was deemed incumbent in a highborn Japanese to excel ; but the ponies on which they had to exercise their skill were, at the best,

but sorry-looking animals, as compared with horses imported from foreign countries. The ambition of Japan from the moment when she entered into the first treaty with foreigners, was, to render herself strong enough to cope with them, and once more to drive them out of the country; and an enormous amount of money had been expended to this end. Napoleon III had doubtless observed this; and, with his usual tact he sent such a present as would enable the Tycoon and his great officers to appear in a nobler state than they had ever done before. It was a happy thought of the Emperor, and was thoroughly appreciated by the Tycoon.

Up to this season it had been the wont of foreigners to have their residences within the boundaries of the foreign settlement. But now, encouraged by the healthier state of feeling apparent in the Government and all around, some foreigners obtained permission, and rented Japanese tenements at a distance from town, that they might enjoy change and quiet.

Amongst these was Mr. GIBSON, who secured a Japanese house at Negishi (still standing), quite close to the sea-shore, and situate at the corner of the road laid out by Government for foreigners, where it leaves the beach and turns up by Fudô-sama temple, and the hill to the race-course. One evening, whilst Mr. and Mrs. GIBSON, their child and a friend, were at dinner, a report of a gun was heard, and a bullet came through the paper window, fortunately avoiding the human beings, but shattering a cruet stand on the table. It was right in front of Mrs. GIBSON; and how she escaped seems simply a miracle. Mr. GIBSON and his friend rushed out, and fancied they saw a Japanese making off as fast as his legs would carry him. It may well be imagined that this playful evidence of Japanese affection, brought the occupation of such a flimsy tenement to a speedy close.

CHAPTER X.

UNFOUNDED REPORT.—BENEFITS OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.—
THE CANAL.—JAPANESE PROBITY.—BLUFF LANDS.—OBSTRU-
CTION OFFERED TO TWO FOREIGNERS BY A SAMURAI IN YEDO.—
THE AINOS.—RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT IN SAGHALIEN.—THE
JAPANESE IN SAGHALIEN.—TRAVELLING IN SAGHALIEN.—
UNSUCCESSFUL ISSUE OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO RUSSIA.
—SIR HARRY PARKES VISITS TOSA.—THE UNPLEASANT OBJECT
OF HIS VISIT.—MURDER OF TWO ENGLISH SAILORS AT
NAGASAKI BY TOSA MEN.—THE ASSASSINS NOT CAPTURED, BUT
THE GOVERNOR OF NAGASAKI DISGRACED.—LOSS OF THE
P. AND S. SINGAPORE.

IMMEDIATELY after the incident just recorded, a report was circulated to the effect that Messrs. SATOW and WIRGMAN, who had accompanied H.M. Minister to Osaka, and were permitted to return overland, had been molested on the Tokaido. Some even went so far as to say they had been assassinated; and much uneasiness was felt on their behalf. The rumours had but the slightest foundation. An emissary of the Mikado, travelling on the Tokaido with his retinue, arrived at a certain town, in one of the tea-houses of which Messrs. SATOW and WIRGMAN had taken up their quarters. On application by some of the

retainers for admission, they were told they could not stay there, as the house was occupied by the English travellers. They doubted this; and insisted on ocular demonstration. On Mr. SATOW, who was disturbed by the altercation, making his appearance and speaking to them pleasantly in their own language, they at once apologised and retired.

The permission given by the Government for the purchase of rice from foreigners gave to the Japanese a better and more practical proof of the benefits of foreign commerce, than anything they had before witnessed. It had always appeared to them that if foreigners came to trade, the principal end they would have in view would be the purchasing and exporting the products of this country, such as silk, tea, cotton, and rice, of which the inhabitants had not heretofore been able to grow more than sufficient for their own wants—thus making them dearer, without any adequate return. Trade, they imagined, would be a very one-sided affair. The scarcity which had now overtaken Japan proved the foreigner's opportunity. The enormous quantity of rice imported immediately the permission was given appeared to have come by magic—so speedily did it arrive from China and Saigon. While leaving a fair profit to importers, it led to an immediate reduction in price, and taught the people that trade was a real benefit to all.

Mixing small and great things, as the nature of my narrative compels me to do, perhaps the residents of Yokohama who have come within the present decade, may not be aware that the fine canal that now bounds the settlement on the south-east, was, up to the time of which I am now treating, a miserable stream with sloping muddy banks, which, though covered at high water, were exposed at low water to the sun's rays, and proved hot beds of malaria and its concomitant

evils. Rubbish was "shot" all along the banks; and the appearance of the slimy stream that could almost be jumped across when the tide was out, was such as to strike all beholders with the conviction that sooner or later its evil influences would display their power; and a fatal epidemic, force, when too late, an improvement. This period seemed to have arrived; for low fever became so prevalent at the beginning of the summer of this year that Mr. JAQUEMOT, one of the oldest residents, called a public meeting to take the state of the "Creek" as we then called it, into consideration. It was the action then taken that led to the improvements that we now enjoy. Years before, the Japanese had promised to deepen the creek to a minimum depth of four feet at low water; but they now set to work, and did far more than they had agreed to do; and gave us the excellent existing water way.

The character that all Orientals have earned for themselves throughout the world, and which each nation among them attaches to the rest, had an amusing exemplification, which I recall as having occurred amid all these circumstances.

By the exertions of the British Consul, after a good deal of persuasion, the Japanese Government appointed an "Officer of Complaints." One of the first cases brought before him, was by Messrs. WILKIN & ROBISON, who sued a native merchant for non-fulfilment of contract. It matters not now how that particular case was decided; but it induced Mr. WILKIN to address a letter to a local paper, in which he said:—

"Only the other day, Noso-wyah, one of the largest among our silk merchants, attempted on myself a gross deception. In passing the shop this morning, I took occasion to upbraid the principal banto, (clerk or employé), with the deed, telling him it was as bad as thieving.—'No,' said he; 'it is not as bad as thieving.

If you had no eyes it would have been ; but as you have eyes, it is not.' ”

The deception attempted by Noso-wyah was the substitution of an inferior parcel of silk for one bought at a high price—sample and all being changed.

The 25th July 1867 will be a memorable one in Yokohama from the fact of the first auction sale of Bluff Lands having taken place on that day. About 225,000 tsubos—a little over a thousand square acres—were offered by Messrs. BOURNE & Co., and a considerable portion found buyers at very satisfactory prices to the government. The space is now so thickly built over, that, ere long, an extension of the boundaries must be looked for. Few foreigners now live in [the settlement who are able to find a suitable residence on the Bluff.

On the 14th August, as the two Messrs. SCHNELL were driving into Yedo from Yokohama, on approaching the Prussian Legation, a two-sworded man rushed out and opposed their progress. They occupied the front seat of their carriage, a betto and a China boy being behind them. Mr. EDWARD SCHNELL was driving ; two of the native escort were a long way in advance, the other three a little way in rear, when the fellow suddenly came out of a tea-house, and placed himself menacingly before the horses. Mr. E. SCHNELL tried to turn aside, and for the moment stopped. The fellow then passed quickly to the left ; and Mr. C. H. SCHNELL thought he had gone away. His brother, however, suspecting otherwise, took the reins in his left hand and held his revolver in the right, keeping his eye on the fellow's movements. Almost as quickly as it takes to tell, the man came close behind the carriage, his arm raised above his head, his hand grasping the hilt of his sword in the act to draw and give simultaneously the mortal blow to Mr. C. H. SCHNELL : when his

brother bent behind him, and discharged his revolver full at the man's breast. He dropped his arms, clapped his hands to his side, and ran off.

Dismounting from the carriage the two brothers saw him making off, and followed him with another shot. They then tried to get the escort to assist in capturing him. Just then the fellow returned, and as he was passing a certain house, the door opened suddenly and a hand seized him and drew him in. A shot was fired as he passed in, and the bullet went through the door. The Messrs. SCHNELL then asked the officers to open the door of the house, but they refused. They therefore went on to the Prussian Legation, and a report was sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. From them a reply was quickly received—declaring that the man should be captured if possible; but that as yet they had no clue.

However, within three days the man was captured. He said his intention was to kill—and he gave as the reason that he had been struck with the whip. This was denied by the Messrs. SCHNELL, who, having both been long resident in Japan, and connected with official life, would naturally have been guarded in their actions. At all events, the man brought punishment on himself by placing himself menacingly in front of the horses.

The result of the Embassy that had been sent by the Tycoon to Russia early in the year, became known in September. The principal object of the mission was to settle the question of the united occupancy of the island of Saghalien, by the Russians and Japanese. For some time past Russia had sent convicts to this island, asserting their right to do so; although Japan claimed the island as a portion of its territory, and the natives looked solely to Japan as their owner and protector. The

natives were of the race known as Ainos. As recently as the year 1874, an English officer, who visited the island in one of Her Majesty's ships, wrote:—

“At a place called Shino-gotan, close to the month of the river Inwotaku, was the first Aino village I had ever seen, and the Ainos were the first I ever saw in their native state. A more miserable set of wretches I think it would be difficult to find. As soon as they saw us they ran away to clothe themselves; a simple operation—as when in full dress they appeared to have only one loose garment reaching a little below the knee, and made of some stuff that looked like sack-cloth. They were frightfully dirty, and alive with vermin.

“One of them spoke a little Japanese, and from him we learnt that there were no Japanese here and only three Russians; but there was a large settlement of both Japanese and Russians on the opposite side of Losas Bay, at a place called Kushokotan. So we went on board, got up anchor and started for Kushokotan.

“We anchored off the Russian settlement, which is entirely divided from the Japanese by a hill. At the landing-place we saw a boat being manned, and one or two officers came off. Among them was the Commandant's *aide de camp*, with his chief's compliments, and he would be glad to see us when we came ashore.

“We went to the Commandant's house—a large log hut, scantily furnished, and heated by the usual Russian stove. They apologised for the Spartan simplicity of their quarters; but such good, kind-hearted people would make a hut as welcome as a palace.

“The first thing we ascertained was that the settlement at Bussi had been abandoned last autumn, as the entrance to the harbour was filling in. There is still a detachment of some ten or fifteen men stationed there, but, though the coal-mines are near it they are not being worked.

“The Russian settlement of Kushokotan is a purely military station. There is only one shop in it, and that is kept by the interpreter.

“The settlement lies in a valley. There is a broad well-made road running across the hill on the left of this valley from the landing-pier; and on either side, but, ly-

ing a little back from it, are houses. First are the officer's quarters ; then the soldiers' barracks ; and then, at the head of the road, the convict establishment.

"We were told by the Commandant that he had one battalion under his orders, but we could not get him to specify the number of men. The main body is stationed here—I should fancy to the number of 5 to 600—and the remainder detached in small parties varying from three to twenty men, at stations round the bay. There are 20 officers, 5 of whom are married ; and 105 convicts, 20 of whom are women.

"The Japanese settlement cannot be seen from the Russian side of the dividing hill. We were told that formerly the Japanese had a few houses on the Russian side but had removed them. What made them do so we were unable to gather from our friend ; who said, however, that his people and the Japanese had very little communication, but that their intercourse was quite friendly.

"Whilst we were visiting the Russians, two of the officers, with the ward-room Japanese servant, went over to the Japanese settlement. They were very kindly received by the head man, who was very communicative, but did not give so favourable an account of the state of affairs as his Russian neighbours had done. He stated that quarrels were frequent between his people and the Russian soldiers, who beat them ; and when they complained to the Commandant, they could get no redress, but were told that it was a mistake ; or, that the Russian soldiers were drunk—which was held to be a sufficient excuse for any outrage they might commit.

"In Saghalien the Japanese outnumber the Russians, but about Aniwa the latter preponderate.

"We could get no further information as to the relations between the Japanese and the Russians. The chief occupation of the former seems to be fishing. They have two salmon seasons, spring and autumn. The latter is the better of the two, as the fish are bigger. The season commences in October. But neither of these equal the herring fishing in May. The bay is then so full, that the fish are thrown on the beach in quantities. This is also the season for bear-shooting. The hunters are armed with a gun and a stout spear, and get good

sport when the animals come down in numbers to feed on the fish thrown up and left by the tide. The interpreter assured me he had seen twelve bears at once on the beach near the settlement.

"The Japanese export great quantities of these herrings salted. In fact, that seems to be their only business; for they do not work the mines; and the ground near the villages is but slightly cultivated, though the soil is good, as shewn by the success of the Russian kitchen gardens.

"Travelling in Saghalien is almost impossible in the summer, on account of the thickness of the woods and undergrowth; but in the winter they make great journeys in dog-sleighs. Thirteen dogs will carry on a sleigh about 360 lbs., besides two men, for seventy miles in one day. The dogs are only fed once in twenty-four hours, and that is in the evening, when they receive three dried salmon each, and then are ready for another seventy miles next morning."

I have thought it well to give the above very interesting glance at Saghalien and its inhabitants, as given to me by my friend Captain WALSH R. M. L. I., who went up to Wladivostock on a holiday trip from here, during the summer of 1873 in H. M. S. Iron Duke, and proceeded from Wladivostock to Saghalien, and thence to Hakodate, (where he rejoined the Iron Duke), in H. M. Gunboat Thistle. On his return, he placed his diary at my disposal, and copious extracts from it, (of which the above was but a small part), appeared in the *Far East* magazine.

The embassy to Russia to settle the question of joint occupation, was by no means successful. It would appear that the proposal of the Japanese must have been, that a certain boundary should be acknowledged on the island, dividing the Russian and the Japanese portions.

Several conferences were reported as having taken place between the Russian privy counsellor, SHEMAULKOW,

Director of the Asiatic department and the Japanese Envoy. Russia declared that she could not accept proposals to draw the frontier line upon the island itself; but, "being desirous of a mutual and friendly understanding" as regards Saghalien, proposed that it should be given up to herself entirely, making the La Peyrouse Straits the frontier between Japan and Russia; and that in exchange the Japanese should accept the island of Uroop, now belonging to Russia, with other three small islets; the fisheries now belonging to Japanese on the island of Saghalien, remaining in their enjoyment.

To these proposals the Japanese Envoy could not agree; and a short temporary agreement was all that was arranged. It left things much as they were; and its terms must have been particularly mortifying to the Japanese.

In his diary, Captain WALSH wrote, "My opinion is that, ere long, Saghalien will be Russian. The mines will be worked by them; and the resources of the island, which are evidently considerable, will be developed for the benefit of Russia. The Japanese will be permitted to remain in-so-far, and in such localities, as they do not interfere with their operations; and where they do so interfere, they will be quietly shouldered out, as they have been at Kushukotan. If the Japanese wished to retain any real possession in the island, they ought to have objected years ago to the Russian encroachments—at all events to their crossing the boundary 45° N. lat. I doubt if they will ever be able to get them within their own proper limits now; but—when the lion lies down with the lamb without eating him, then *perhaps* the Russian will live next door to the Japanese and not bully them—and not before."

Captain WALSH was quite right. The island has now become Russian territory; and Japan has got in exchange—The Kurile isles!!

I have recorded at some length the visits of different foreign magnates to the territories of several daimios who had invited them; and who gave them a warm welcome.

In September, Sir HARRY PARKES paid a visit to the Prince of TOSA.

Of this daimio I have had to speak incidentally in the first volume of this work. He was one of the trio for whom the name "Sat-cho-to," was coined—Satsuma, Choshiu and Tosa—the trio most prominent throughout the revolution. Personally he was one of the daimios with whom in after years foreigners became more than ordinarily acquainted; and he had many points in his character which should have produced a good, and, in the services of his country, a great, man. But habits, peculiarly Japanese, and illustrating the old manners and customs of the nation, prevented it. He died in 1872, at the early age of 40; a victim to voluptuousness.

He had been one of the most active and powerful supporters of the Mikado's cause; but when that cause was successful, he refused to accept any post in the direction of affairs.

He was spoken of as a most progressive man, and his active disposition ought to have had employment of a kind to do him credit, and his country good. But he gave himself up to a course of life, which, entered upon with all the energy that characterised him, brought him to an untimely end. After the revolution, whatever he may have been before, he became the firm friend of foreigners.

With such a preamble, my readers will expect that I am about to give them another pleasant picture of the improving intercourse between foreign officials and Japanese daimios.

Alas! No.

Another cold-blooded murder had taken place at Nagasaki. Admiral KEPPEL in H. M. Tender *Salamis*, and Sir HARRY PARKES in H. M. S. *Basilisk*, arrived opportunely in the port. At the time of their arrival the subject was red-hot in the minds of the foreign community; and a pretty accurate notion of who were engaged in the atrocity was given them to work upon. A party of seamen from a schooner belonging to the Prince of Tosa had been ashore. Circumstances pointed to them as the perpetrators of the cruel deed, and especially to two or more who did not return to their vessel, and who appear to have fled from Nagasaki together. The lives of two British subjects had been taken. The Nagasaki native authorities declared that they had done, and were doing, all they could to follow the murderers and bring them to justice; but hitherto they had been unsuccessful. And, at length, the British Minister and Admiral, in the respective ships mentioned above, started for Osaka. On application to the Tycoon's Government, His Excellency received little more than fair words. The Prince of Tosa was communicated with, and some of his officers arrived in Osaka to confer upon the matter, but left again without having seen Sir HARRY PARKES, or giving any satisfaction. The natural result was that His Excellency, finding that the prince's officers treated the affair so cavalierly, went in the *Basilisk* to make the demands for the murderers, of the Prince of Tosa himself. The Admiral remained behind, because there was no desire to appear as if menacing the Prince.

The visit to Tosa did not result in the capture of the men. But the action of Sir HARRY led to the removal of the Governor of Nagasaki, under whose rule the outrages upon foreigners had been frequent without any of the delinquents being discovered. It was thought that when it was seen by the governors that remissness of duty

in such matters was so promptly punished, a good deal more alacrity would be shown in guarding against outrages; and greater zeal manifested in finding and handing criminals over to justice.

The foreign community of Yokohama were thrown into a state of commotion early in the month of September, by receiving intelligence of the loss of the steamer *Singapore*, belonging to the fleet of the Peninsular and Oriental S. N. Company.

On the 20th August, a little after noon, about twelve miles from Hakodate, where all the passengers were looking to arrive after a pleasant passage from Yokohama, a severe shock was felt, accompanied by a sensation as if the iron hull was being ripped open; and the sensation too truly declared the reality. A sunken pinnacle rock, about 12 feet below water, not marked on the chart, had pierced the bottom and torn an immense hole in the engine-room, which filled with great rapidity, and caused the vessel at once to settle down. The boats were quickly lowered, and the passengers got into them, with as much of their baggage as it was possible to save. The boats had happily got all clear of the ship, when it suddenly went down, perpendicularly, stern foremost. No blame attached to Captain WILKINSON or his officers for the accident, as there was nothing on the surface of the water to indicate the hidden danger. But it spoke volumes for the discipline and order of the Company's ships, that, in eight minutes from the accident, all the boats were out, and the passengers in them, clear of the ship—the officers, (among whom the chief was Mr. JOHN REEVES, now master of the Company's steamer *Malacca*, still plying between Hongkong and Yokohama), waiting until the last, saving the passengers' baggage, the mails, &c., and only leaving the ship in time to escape being taken down in her.

CHAPTER XI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "JAPAN GAZETTE."—ASCENT OF FUSI-YAMA BY SIR HARRY AND LADY PARKES.—TRAGEDY IN YOKOHAMA.—RUMOURS OF HITOTSUBASHI'S ABDICATION.—CONFIDENCE AS TO THE OPENING OF THE PORTS.—EXTENT OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENTS.—CERTAIN OSAKA MERCHANTS PRIVILEGED TO WEAR TWO SWORDS.—THE JAPAN OF 1867 NOT THAT OF 1858.—RESIGNATION OF THE TYCOON.—"KINSE SHIRIAKU" UPON THE SUBJECT.—THE CHIEF ACTORS IN THE COMING STRUGGLE.

If I mention the establishment of the *Japan Gazette* at this time, it is because it was the first attempt in Yokohama to furnish a daily paper with the current news. It appeared on Saturday, the 12th October 1867, as an evening paper, avowedly for this purpose. It was thought impossible in such a small and remote place, to gather sufficient local intelligence, to fill its columns day by day; but the editor declared that, as news could not be given when there was none, foreign news or interesting extracts from foreign papers should, in its absence, supply its place. Hitherto the two local papers were published weekly, each sending forth an advertising sheet every morning, with an occasional news paragraph, if anything of particular importance occurred.

The success of the *Gazette* was immediate; and as a result it led to the oldest paper, the *Japan Herald* drop-

ping its weekly shape altogether ; and to its coming out as an evening paper, as a rival to the *Gazette*. The two have run side by side ever since ; both finding a liberal measure of public support.

H. E. Sir HARRY PARKES, with Lady PARKES and a large party of friends made the ascent of Fusi-yama, early in this month. It was very late in the season, and the summit was already covered with snow ; but they successfully surmounted all difficulties : even Lady PARKES persevering to the end, until she stood on the highest ground in Japan ; the first foreign lady, and—as Japanese females were forbidden to ascend the mountain—probably one of the first of her sex who had ever reached that proud and sacred eminence. The severity of the cold was such, that some of the party found the skin of their hands abraded by swinging them in walking. The temperature was as low as 10 deg. Fahrenheit.

A lamentable tragedy was enacted on the 12th October in Yokohama ; the unfortunate perpetrator being one of the most quiet, inoffensive men in the settlement. It occurred at a small boarding-house, at the time of tiffin.

A young Scotchman, named MEIKLEJOHN, employed as a mechanic in a small engineering yard, was in the habit of taking his meals in the house. On this occasion, he entered, accompanied by a friend. They were late ; and the friend, who was slightly the worse for liquor, made some remarks which were objectionable to the landlady. She rose, indignantly, and ordered him to leave the house. There were other two persons seated at the table. The grumbler did not seem inclined to move, and the landlady took him by the arm to put him out. As he resisted, one of those who had been at the table, Mr. SURIE, rose to assist her ; and, seeing this, MEIKLEJOHN got up to help his friend. SURIE then tried to put him outside the door ; but MEIKLEJOHN twice struck him, and attempted

to re-enter the room. The table was within reach, and the carving-knife seems to have caught the eye of SURIE. As MEIKLEJOHN rushed violently forward, in a moment, the carving knife was seized, and the next, thrown, covered with blood, on the table. In that single instant it had done its work. MEIKLEJOHN fell dead upon the door-sill; and SURIE was a murderer. The stab had been a perpendicular one from the upper portion of the left breast, and penetrated the lung, dividing one of the large arteries, and entering the heart. The whole affair did not take so long to enact as it has taken me to record.

SURIE was a solitary man; most regular in his habits; and everyday so systematically took pedestrian exercise after his office hours, among the hills about Yokohama and Mississippi Bay, that people meeting him thus constantly, as it seemed in whatever direction they went, invariably alone, ever and anon stopping to look around,

"To drink the blessing in, of all that loveliness," they would wonder who he was: and impulsively feel an interest in him.

Being a Dutchman, the case was enquired into before the Dutch Minister, assisted by two assessors. The Court found that the murder was clearly proved, but under provocation; and that, as there were sufficient grounds for prosecuting him criminally, he should be kept in custody, and held at the disposal of a competent tribunal of the Netherlands: all papers of the examination being sent to the Netherlands Foreign Department. He was ultimately sent from Yokohama, under charge, in the *Costa Rica* to Nagasaki, to be passed on, it was supposed, to have his sentence pronounced by the Dutch Authorities in Java.

And now we received constant rumours of the 'abdication' of HITOTSUBASHI. The Yedo and Yokohama

officials strenuously denied it, and the Gorojiu declared it to be impossible; but it was so clear that the great opposition he was encountering must lead to this, that the rumours began to find credence. It became known that the Prince of Tosa had sent some of his most trusty retainers, one of whom was Goro SHOJIRO, with a letter to the Tycoon, advising him to resign. This is confirmed by the *Kinsé Shiriaku*, in which the letter is quoted, and it is added, that the "the Shogun from this time frequently summoned Goro, and KOMATSU of the Satsuma clan, to his castle of Nijô, to discuss politics with perfect freedom; and both of them persistently advocated the formation of an imperial Government."

The political situation became now of most momentous interest. It was evident that the great crisis was at hand—and that the position of foreigners in the country was about to be settled at once and for ever. The question was—would it be decided peacefully or otherwise? The letter of the Satsuma clan, addressed to the Mikado directly it was known that the ministers had arrived in the harbour of Hiogo in 1865, to demand the ratification of the treaties, was remembered. In that letter, (which I have given in full in the first volume, chapter 35), it is particularly desired that Hiogo may not be opened; that, should "the barbarians fatigue his Majesty with their obstinate resolutions" their expulsion may be decreed; and that the Satsuma clan may form the advance guard that, "by fighting to death" they might endeavour to shew their gratitude for all the favours with which they have been blessed.

Now what was to be done? This question was not asked as regards foreigners—but as to the proceedings of the Japanese. There was no fear experienced respecting our safety, nor any doubts as to the ability of foreign Ministers to secure the due execution of the

treaties. Amid all the rumours that reached us, not once was any hint given of interference with the preparations for our reception at Osaka and Hiogo. We were confident that the Government would not attempt to play fast and loose with us; for we knew that all the Treaty Powers were firmly and unanimously resolved that the day of trifling had passed, and that the promises they had received should be adhered to in every particular.

As regards the sites of the proposed settlements, they comprised but twenty six allotments in Osaka, and ninety-eight at Hiogo—the latter, not within the town boundaries, but adjoining, and now known as Kobé. The settlement of Kobé was well laid out, space being allowed for a public garden and recreation ground; and there was plenty of room to spread, should the area prove too limited.

It was known that the Osaka merchants were looking forward with pleasure to the advent of foreigners among them. They, like ourselves, indulged in great expectations of the trade that was to spring up. Yet it is a remarkable evidence of the anxiety the officials entertained as to the consequences of opening the Inland Sea ports, that, in July of this year (as we read in *Kinsé Shiriaku*), a rich merchant of Osaka, named YAMANAKA ZENYEMON, was chosen with nineteen others, to form a trading corporation (*shosha*); annual grants of rice were made to them, and they were privileged to wear two swords. *This was done in view of the opening of Hiogo.*"

From what has preceded, it must be plain to all that the Japan of 1867 was not the Japan of 1858. The bent of the people everyday turned more and more towards the freedom and principles of the freest nations. The relative position of the trader and official was already less marked than of old—at least in the open

ports ; and these changes must increase as intelligence spread and wealth accumulated.

Now the great question was—are the dominant classes, perceiving the tendency to such a result, trying to nip it in the bud ? or, will they recognise its certainty, and encourage it with the design of being the first to avail themselves of its advantages ?

The actual occurrences became so complicated, that it is hard to give them as succinctly as I could desire. Dates become exceedingly perplexing ; but making allowances for any small inaccuracies in these, the broad facts I am about to relate may be relied upon.

On the 20th November, I wrote, and published in the *Gazette* :—

“ HITOTSUBASHI has resigned his powers, not into the hands of another and a successor, (as had been reported), but into the hands of the Mikado himself.”

Now see what the author of *Kinsé Shiriaku* says, following up the passage I have quoted with reference to the advice of GOTO and KOMATSU :—

“The Shōgun became convinced of its expediency, and drew up a document for communication to his vassals. It said : ‘ When I contemplate the changes which have come about in the political condition of the Empire, it appears to me that when the imperial authority decayed many centuries back, the power was seized by the FUJIWARA family. During the wars of Hōgen and Heiji (1156-1159) it passed into the grasp of the Military Class. My ancestor was a recipient of especial favours at the hands of the Emperor, and during over two hundred years his descendants have enjoyed the same favours successively. Although I hold my ancestor’s office, there has been great mal-administration of the government and of the penal laws, the result being the present state of affairs. This is the effect of my want of virtue and I cannot sufficiently deplore it. It appears to me that the laws cannot be maintained in face of the daily extension of our foreign relations, unless the government be con-

ducted by one head, and I propose therefore to surrender the whole governing power into the hands of the Imperial Court. This is the best I can do for the interests of the Empire at this moment, and I call upon you all to give your opinions as to the advisability of this course.' Although none of the *samurai* made any open opposition, some of them were secretly dissatisfied.

"On the 19th of November, the Shogun eventually sent in a memorial offering his resignation to the Mikado. This was accepted in considerate language, and he was informed that he was desired to carry on the administration as heretofore, with the exception of directing the actions of the Daimios, which question would be decided as soon as the prince of KAGA and thirty-three other great princes should arrive at Kioto. A proclamation was then issued throughout the country notifying the Shogun's resignation of the governing power. The princes who were under obligations to the TOKUGAWA family advised the Imperial Court not to take the direction of affairs upon its shoulders without due consideration, and the Court began to feel distrust in its own capacity. It was said by some people that a secret understanding existed between TOKUGAWA NAIFU (the ex-Shogun), the In-no-Miya and the Kuambaku, that his retainers were acting in concert with the latter, and that the vacillation of the Court was due to these causes. Hereupon the Court nobles and the samurai of SATSUMA, Tosa and other clans, who had been agitating for a return to the ancient régime of the Mikados, said to themselves:—'See how the Court conducts itself, at the very moment when the affairs of the Empire seem on the point of being settled. The opportunity will be lost.' They proceeded to infuse their vehement opinions into the councils of the Court, which began to bestir itself."

It will be observed that I published the fact in Yokohama on the 20th November, which the author of the quotation states only took place on the 19th at Kioto. But as Mr. SAROW in his translation repeatedly corrects the author's dates in matters about which there can be no doubt whatever, I am inclined to rely upon my own. The matter is of little

importance. The fact is corroborated. And the extract also confirms my statement made a few days later—"he did not, nor has he now, actually laid down the office of Tycoon. He still retains his old rank, but shorn of a considerable portion of its power. That, he has returned into the hands of his recognised sovereign, the Mikado: and the change that is actually made is one that promises well for the country and foreign intercourse." The only difference is that he offered his resignation without reserve, and the Mikado himself insisted on his carrying on the administration as heretofore, with one particular exception.

It will doubtless be a matter of enquiry with many as to who the individuals were that were most prominent in all that was transpiring.

From this time forward, the names of many daimios were brought forward, but, with a few bright exceptions, it was understood that these chieftains did not personally act; nor did they, in all cases, even decide upon the policy of their own clan. To this day, not a foreigner in the country knows to what extent the personal influence of the actual daimio of Satsuma was felt, although it was, and is still, the prevailing notion, that the action of the Satsuma clan was directed by SHIMADZU OSUMI-NO-KAMI (SABURO), with a view to the personal aggrandisement either of his son the Prince of SATSUMA, or of himself. I have already shown that the Prince of CHOSHU was not allowed by his clansmen to act for himself, when required to make his submission to the Shogun. And most of the other daimios who are heard of in the ensuing troubles, acted through their *karoo* (ministers) or military commanders.

On the part of Satsuma many very able men came to the front. Among these I need only mention SAIGO KITCHINOSUKE and OKUBO. Neither of these had sprung

from important or distinguished families in the clan ; both being of the *ashigaru* class of samurai. SAIGO had formerly been under the ban of his own daimio ; and it is difficult to realise how he raised himself to the position he now occupied. His personal bravery, his modesty, his undoubted patriotism, and his unselfishness, most probably were his principal recommendations ; but from this period he was unquestionably one of the most popular men in the empire.

Of the Choshu men whose names are best known to foreigners, KIDO, HIROSAWA and INOUE BUNDA, were all active in the field before they became counsellors of the Mikado. And so with ITAGAKI and GOTO of Tosa.

The Prince of AIDZU had for years held office under the TOKUGAWA, as guardian of the palace of the Mikado ; and the part he took during the year 1868, was simply a continuance of the same devoted loyalty by which he had always been distinguished.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MUNICIPALITY RESIGNED INTO THE HANDS OF THE JAPANESE.—MR. DOHMEN APPOINTED MUNICIPAL DIRECTOR.—ABSENCE OF THE BEGGING FRATERNITY.—JUDICIOUS CARE TAKEN OF THE POOR BY THE GOVERNMENT.—EFFECTS OF THE SCARCITY OF RICE.—LOAFERS.—SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO REDUCE THEIR NUMBERS.—HOME FOR THE POOR.—THE GENERAL HOSPITAL.—CATASTROPHES IN NAGASAKI AND YOKOHAMA.—YEDO.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RESIDENCE OF FOREIGNERS.—THE YEDO HOTEL.—YEDO SWARMING WITH ROBBERS.—DEPARTURES OF FOREIGNERS FOR THE INLAND SEA.

It was my intention to follow up the subject of the Municipality with some degree of minuteness ; but after putting it on paper, I have come to the conclusion that the dry details of its proceedings, from the period at which I left it in the first volume to the time of its dissolution, assume too much the form of history, and that, too, of a kind the least interesting to the majority of readers. I shall therefore content myself with stating that in November 1867, after an existence of two years and a half, the Council returned the internal government of the settlement into the hands of the Japanese. Lack of funds, and of the means of raising them, was the sole

cause. In the interval during which the power had been vested in foreigners, much had been done, and the settlement had been materially improved; but the drainage had become a matter of the first necessity: and for this, little or no money could be spared. So, under the circumstances, there was nothing to be done but to resign the municipal powers that had been conferred upon us, and call upon the Japanese Government to fulfil its engagements, according to the terms on which land-renters had accepted their holdings and paid their rent.

The Japanese authorities no longer raised any difficulties. They commenced by appointing a foreigner as their adviser in municipal affairs, and as their mouth-piece with the community. The appointment was temporarily conferred upon Mr. DOHMEI, one of the members of the British Consular staff, who was permitted by Sir HARRY PARKES to undertake the duties, until other arrangements were perfected. A committee of five land-renters was appointed by the general body to keep an eye on the proceedings of the Governor, and the management of municipal affairs generally.

I fancy that one of the most pleasing features that must strike travellers who arrive in Japan after visiting other countries, is the absence of beggars. It must give them the idea that poverty does not exist to the same extent that it does elsewhere. This would be a very erroneous impression. "Ye have the poor with you always" is no less true of Japan than it is of other countries. But the Government here insists upon their availing themselves of the provision that is made for them. The beggars are very few, and how it is that there are any is unaccountable, for the police have orders to arrest them all. If they are able to work, employment is found for them in workhouses, where, if they

have no trade they are taught one, and the products of their labour are sold to defray expenses. These establishments are altogether, or nearly, self-supporting, and there is no actual poor-rate. Benevolent individuals frequently send in contributions, without any appeal or solicitation; but were it otherwise, and were it necessary to call upon the public purse, the charge would be met therefrom. If any are found, unable from age or infirmity to labour, they are taken care of; for, according to Japanese law, no one should be allowed to starve.

Towards the end of 1867, the great scarcity of rice which had induced, or rather compelled, the Government to permit its import, was followed, as I have before told, by enormous arrivals from China and other ports, which led to a perfect rush of the pauper population to Yokohama. They did not, as a rule, beg; but they would be seen at the landing-places, watching the unloading of the cargo-boats, sweeping up the grain that might be shaken out of the bags in handling them; and even following the *kurumas*, or trucks, on which they were conveyed from the *hatobas* to the merchant's godowns, to sweep up what might fall by the way. It was glean-
ing carried to its highest power:—

“When thy harvest yields thee pleasure

“Thou the golden sheaves shall bind;

“To the poor belongs the treasure

“Of the scattered ears behind.

“Thus thy God ordains to bless,

“The widow and the fatherless.”

But even this was put a stop to. The Governor of Kanagawa had the whole of them taken in hand by the police. From that day to this, with an exceptional individual or two, the sight of the begging fraternity, either in the capital or Yokohama, is exceedingly rare.

But there was a class of foreigners, at the same time

in Yokohama, known by the name of "loafers," who were far more importunate on Japanese than the Japanese poor had been with us. These men were generally seamen of intemperate habits, who, having got their discharge from their ships, soon spent the little money they had received from their captains, and instead of shipping again, and getting away as quickly as possible, wandered about the settlement for a time, getting any Jack ashore with whom they could foregather, to "stand a drink" or a meal at a grog-shop, until they became so well-known and so besotted in appearance that they were ashamed to show their faces any longer by day among their own countrymen. They would wander away among the country walks or sea-side villages, ever and anon begging a little rice from the kind-hearted natives, and towards evening making a descent upon the native settlement of Yokohama, or the adjoining Japanese village of Homura, and levying black-mail upon the people.

In every similar community in the East, such people are found. Unfortunately there are always others who have been overtaken by poverty from other causes; and who, properly speaking, ought to be very differently classed. It is of the loafing fraternity, however, that I now speak. They are always to be found—an eyesore and a shame to their own countrymen; and a nuisance to the native population.

At the time of which I am writing they literally swarmed in Yokohama. The Consuls had not funds sufficient to provide for them; and it became necessary for the foreign residents to make an effort to reduce their numbers, if not to get rid of them altogether. This was taken in hand by Captain FLETCHER, an American, (one of the earlier comers to Japan, and known long before in China), who, with a number of Amateurs got up a concert,

which was "a great success" in every way; and led to such a clearance, that for "quite a long time" the objectionable class was only conspicuous by its absence.

For the poor of a different class an appeal was made; subscriptions were freely sent in, and a home was opened, the superintendence of which was undertaken by Dr. DALLISTON. It was kept open during the whole of the winter, until the necessity for it was at an end.

At the same time Yokohama found itself without a general hospital. A meeting was called, and presided over by Mr. MYBURGH, the English Consul. Mr. WILKIN, then, as now, ever the foremost in all works of benevolence, thus explained the object of the meeting:—

"It will be known to most of those present, that Yokohama is at present virtually without civil hospital accommodation. For some years a small building on the Creek-side was used for the purpose; but about twelve months ago it was closed, and the gap to this time has been filled by the Dutch hospital on the Bluff, under the care of Dr. DE MEYER, who is now giving up this institution; and as, doubtless, all will agree that some refuge for sick strangers or residents is indispensable to a place of the extent to which Yokohama has grown, it behoves us now to devise the best plan for accomplishing our end."

The appeal was immediately and liberally responded to. The Dutch authorities, after some negotiations and under certain conditions, made over their hospital and ground on the Bluff to the community; the buildings were added to, and made available for three classes of patients, including a certain number of charity patients; and it has never since been allowed to languish for want of funds.

It would be an agreeable task, if I had only to tell of such circumstances as this. But the year's tragedies were not yet at an end.

At Nagasaki, in October, two men, one an American,

were wounded by an exasperated samurai. In this case the foreigners were clearly in the wrong, and it was even acknowledged that the samurai had acted with some degree of forbearance.

In Yokohama, too, an American sailor, riding furiously through the streets, ran over a native woman, inflicting injuries from which she died. How the man was dealt with I was never able to ascertain.

As regards the city of Yedo, it should have been opened for the residence of foreigners on the 1st of January, 1868, simultaneously with Hiogo and Osaka; but, for prudential reasons, ministers were content to defer it for a time, that their whole attention might be given to the more important ports of the Inland Sea. Still, all preparations were made by the Japanese, and the "Arrangements for the settlement of foreigners in Yedo," together with a plan of the proposed site, were published early in November.

Within certain limits foreigners of all nations having treaties with Japan were to be allowed to hire or purchase houses or to lease building lands from any Japanese owners willing to hire, sell or lease to them; on such terms as might be mutually agreed upon, without official interference. Foreigners so occupying houses or land were to pay the same land-rent to the Japanese Government, and be liable to the same municipal charges, as were paid by Japanese occupants within the same limits. The Japanese authorities agreed to have specially prepared and ready for occupation by the first day of January 1868, a certain space, surrounded by a road of not less than 40 feet in width—which should be the foreign settlement proper; and the ground within this site was to be leased to foreigners in the manner provided in certain articles of the regulations for the settlements of Osaka and Hiogo. In case more space should be re-

quired, upon these terms, the Japanese agreed to clear and fill in ground adjoining, surrounding it also with a similar road of not less than 40 feet wide.

The Government undertook that all canals passing through the settlement should be thoroughly cleansed before the 1st of January, and subsequently kept in good order. They also promised that a set of buildings, for the purposes of a foreign hotel, should be erected, on a plan supplied by a foreign architect; and that it should be finished by the 1st of January. The management of the hotel was to be in Japanese hands.

Provision was made for the inspection and warehousing of foreign merchandise; but as Yedo was not an *open Port*, no merchant vessel of any nation would be allowed to anchor in Yedo Bay. Import and Export duties were to be paid in Yokohama. Guards were not thought to be necessary to accompany foreigners whenever they went out; but one article provided that "as it will be unsafe for foreigners to pass beyond the limits after nightfall, without a guard, one will be furnished in case of emergency, or on the written requisition of a diplomatic or consular authority." It was also necessary that every foreigner going to Yedo should have a passport from his Consul, and *visé'd* by the Governor of Kanagawa, which must be produced when demanded by Japanese officers at particular places.

Some idea of the changes that had taken place in Yedo, since the periodical residence of the daimios in the city had ceased to be enforced, may be gathered from the fact that the whole of the ground—including that first to be appropriated and surrounded by a 40 feet road: that which might be cleared, filled in and brought into the settlement thereafter: and that in which houses might be hired from the Japanese—was within the boundaries of the daimios' quarters. The space which

is now known as the foreign settlement had formerly been occupied by the *yashiki's* of daimios whose names are well known to us all—HOSOKAWA, MATSUDAIRA AWAJI-NO-KAMI, BIZEN-NO-KAMI, and NAKAGAWA.

The name Tsukiji, by which the district in which the foreign settlement is placed, is known, means, filled in or reclaimed ground.

With regard to the hotel it was on a really magnificent scale, considering where and by whom it was built. Although the Government had undertaken to have it erected and ready by the 1st day of January, it was really erected by a private company of Japanese: principally traders who would be likely to benefit by selling their goods to foreigners. The company rented the land from the Government. It was not on, but adjoining, the foreign settlement. Mr. J. P. BRIDGENS (American) was the architect, and the cost was considerably over \$100,000—(£20,000). The stabling was on an extensive scale; having been removed from Go-Ten-yama, where it had been originally erected for the purposes of the English Legation, under the directions of Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Owing perhaps to the absence of the Tycoon, and the totally altered circumstances of the city, it was reported to us that Yedo swarmed with robbers, and we were warned to be on our guard lest they should visit Yokohama and break into our houses, as they were constantly doing into those of Yedo citizens from whom adequate plunder could be expected.

On the 21st December 1867, the first departure from hence to the Inland Sea took place. The English Minister, accompanied by the Secretary of Legation, Mr. LOCOCK, Mr. MYBURGH who was to assume the duties of H. B. M. Consul at Hiogo, Mr. LOWDER who was to fill the post of Vice-Consul at Osaka, and Mr. HIRAM

WILKINSON of H. B. M. Legation, left in H. M. S. Adventure. The U. S. Minister, General VAN VALKENBURGH, also left for the same destination in the U. S. S. Shenandoah.

On the 29th December, the two first merchant steamers left, the Lightning and the Hayo Maru, the former having on board their Excellencies M. VON BRANDT and M. LE COMTE DE LA TOUR—the Prussian and Italian Ministers, Signor ROBECCHI the Italian Consul at Yokohama, and several others. On the 30th, the P. M. S. S. HERMANN left with the Dutch Minister M. VON POLESBROECK and a large number of passengers.

Sir HARRY PARKES landed off Osaka, on arrival of the Adventure, on the 23rd December 1867, and proceeded up the river to that great emporium of trade. He found every preparation had been made for the opening on the 1st of January. The following day, the Legation Escort and a detachment of the 2nd Batt. 9th Regiment were landed.

On Christmas day Mr. LOWDER and Dr. WILLIS were left at Osaka, Sir HARRY PARKES with the remainder of his suite returning to the Adventure. A couple of hours afterwards they arrived off Hiogo, where they found six English men-of-war, including the Ocean (ironclad), and Admiral KEPPEL's flag-ship Rodney; besides four American men-of-war, some foreign merchant steamers, and a few Japanese steamers and sailing ships. It was said that, in one of the Japanese steamers the younger prince of CHOSHU had arrived; he having been requested by the Mikado to be present at the opening of the new ports.

But before the opening day it was decreed that some foreigners should enter into possession of "the promised land." The surgeon of the U. S. S. Hartford died of consumption, and Mr. TURNER, first Lieutenant of

H. M. S. Rodney, of heart disease ; and both were buried on Christmas day of 1867, in the plot allotted for a cemetery.

It may be fanciful—but considering the course of events attending the advent of foreigners into the country, it seems to me both saddening and suggestive—to see the dead take possession of their narrow homes before the living.

And so we take leave of the year 1867. It was to be followed by the most momentous and eventful one that has occurred in the modern history of Japan.

CHAPTER XIII.

1868.

OPENING OF HIOGO AND OSAKA.—EARLY EXPERIENCES OF SETTLERS.—HITOTSUBASHI LEAVES KIOTO AND ARRIVES AT OSAKA.—CONSEQUENCES.—DIFFICULTY OF HIS POSITION.—THE PRINCE OF AIDZU.—SHIMADZU OSUMI-NO-KAMI'S ANNOYANCE AT THE OPENING OF HIOGO.—INTRIGUES AGAINST HITOTSUBASHI.—THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TOO STRONG TO BE INTERFERRED WITH.—COUP D'ETAT AT KIOTO.—ENTIRE CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT.—INDIGNATION OF HITOTSUBASHI AND HIS SUPPORTERS.—THEIR DELIBERATION AND DEPARTURE FROM KIOTO.—AIDZU AND KUWANA FORBIDDEN TO RE-ENTER KIOTO.—ROBBERS IN YEDO.—GREAT FIGHT, AND DESTRUCTION OF SATSUMA'S YASHIKI IN YEDO.—ESCAPE OF SAMURAI.—NAVAL DUEL OFF MISSISSIPPI BAY.—JAPANESE NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE INLAND SEA AGAINST SATSUMA.—OWARI AND ETOHIZEN SENT TO OSAKA TO INVITE HITOTSUBASHI TO RETURN TO KIOTO, UNACCOMPANIED BY HIS ARMY.—AIDZU AND OTHERS INSIST ON THEIR TROOPS ACCOMPANYING HIM.—THE FATAL RESULT.—BATTLE OF FUSHIMI.—FLIGHT OF HITOTSUBASHI TO YEDO.—FOREIGN MINISTERS WARNED TO PROVIDE FOR THEIR OWN SAFETY.—THE CASTLE VISITED BY ENGLISH OFFICIALS.—FRENCH MARINES MOBBED AND OBLIGED TO USE THEIR ARMS.—DEPARTURE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM OSAKA.—PROCEEDINGS IN HIOGO.

THE opening of Hiogo and Osaka was quietly effected on the first day of January 1868. Mr. MYBURGH, who had been H.B.M. Consul at Kanagawa, was appointed

by Sir HARRY PARKES to "officiate as Consul for the district of Hiogo and Osaka," Mr. LOWDER to "act as Vice-Consul for the same district." The Consul "for the present to be stationed at the port of Hiogo, and the Vice-Consul at the city of Osaka." Both of these gentlemen hoisted the British ensign at their temporary Consulates on the opening day; and the men-of-war in harbour at Hiogo, fired, at noon, a royal salute.

I might devote an entire chapter to the experiences of the new settlers in obtaining business premises and residences in Hiogo, previous to the sale of the settlement allotments. It would not be the least interesting in my narrative; but should I dwell upon such matters at length, they would occupy too much of my space, and increase the size of my book indefinitely. Yet I will mention one incident, which may be accepted as showing "the effect of foreign intercourse on the innocent, simple minded, loveable, Japanese." It was recorded at the time by a gentleman on the spot, in correspondence to the *Japan Herald*:—

"A well-known Yokohama resident, landing on the 1st inst., looked with favour on a certain building, enquired the monthly rental, and was told that 400 boos would be the moderate sum required. The said premises, though somewhat extensive, were but rambling, and the buildings were composed of mud and timber—the age we should be sorry to make even a guess at. The foreigner, however, closed with the native speculator at the price named, took him to the custom-house, had the matter arranged by an interpreter, duplicate agreements written, paid a portion of the rent in advance as bargain money, and then considered himself, (and justly so), as the fortunate and honest owner of 'a corner lot.' The sequel will show that a rival was already in the field. Our friend vainly endeavoured to get possession of the keys, and received nothing but excuses and evasive answers to his demands for them.

"Later in the day he showed the premises to two visitors, to whom he potted out in the capabilities for the

business he proposed to carry on, when one of his friends replied :—‘ It is all remarkably convenient ; but are you aware that I engaged these premises *six weeks ago* ? ’ Explanations ensued ; and it became evident that the speaker had good reason for supposing himself the rightful lessee of the property. It appeared that a Japanese, ‘ well-tried and trusty,’ had been sent from Yokohama six weeks before, to reconnoitre. Following the instructions of his master, he sent a plan of premises that he deemed suitable for his employer, and on receiving orders, by return, to take them, he had entered into treaty with the proprietor, and ultimately taken the premises at a monthly rental of *sixty boos*. No documents had been signed ; nor had there, according to the landlord’s statement, any ‘ filthy lucre ’ passed between them. Thus the matter stood. The one party claimed the premises in right of an indirect contract, entered into prior to the opening of the ports by Treaty ; the other had, in a regular and legal manner, gone through the necessary form required for leasing property, and had received a receipt for a considerable sum of boos, on the strength of the transaction.

“ It was annoying and perplexing for both parties. They were gentlemen, straightforward and honorable ; but the question as to legitimate ownership was self-evident, and the lessee at four hundred boos *per mensem*, took possession of the property. Thus, here is one instance in which a native obtains a property for sixty boos a month, for which a foreigner is asked, and agrees to pay, four hundred boos a month—a difference of nearly *six hundred per cent.* ”

Poor innocent lambkins ! The foreigners fleece them sadly ! Don’t they ?

The *Hiogo and Osaka Herald*, made its first appearance, as a weekly paper, owned, and at first edited, by Mr. A. T. WATKINS, on the 4th of January.

And now we approach the beginning of the end of the old *régime*. On the 6th January the Tycoon HIROTSU-BASHI left Kioto, and on the 7th arrived at the Castle of

Osaka. It was a most injudicious step to take, and it led to consequences disastrous to himself and to all his advisers; ultimately hastening the violent overthrow of his house, and plunging the empire into a civil war, which possibly might have been avoided, had he remained at the side of the Mikado; and, in obedience to the commands he had received, continued to carry on the administration.

It must be acknowledged, however, that his position was one of extreme difficulty. He was constantly thwarted by finding decrees issued by his imperial master, contrary to his own judgment, and on affairs about which he had not been consulted.

The prince of AIDZU, whose name now came prominently under the notice of foreigners as well as natives, had proved himself for many years one of the most able, one of the most resolute, one of the most faithful, and one of the bravest, of the daimios. He had in 1862 been appointed the Military Protector of Kioto. His clan had been the guardians of the Nine gates of the imperial palace, and, with others, had fought bravely in its defence when it was attacked by CHOSHU in August 1864. Previously, in 1863, he had been "rewarded by the Court with a sum of money in gold and a war surcourt, for his services in protecting the capital. Honestly, staunchly, had he obeyed the commands, and upheld the authority, of the Tycoon, who had entrusted him with his high and important office; and never had he shrunk from giving his opinions as to the agitators who were creating the difficulties which were so rapidly accumulating about the Government—distressing alike the Sovereign and his Lieutenant. Good cause, indeed, had both to appreciate the generous fidelity of the single-minded chieftain; and to reward his zeal by their favour and confidence.

In March 1864, SHIMADZU SABURO, (MATSUDAIRA OSUMI-NO-KAMI), had been called to assist in the councils of the imperial court. The letter addressed by the Satsuma clan to the late Mikado in 1865 was written by his instructions, and gives good ground for believing that he viewed the actual opening of the port against which he had so strongly protested, with peculiar chagrin. Up to a certain period, however, he and his clan had maintained an outward loyalty to the existing Government. He had never as yet taken up arms against it. On the contrary, he had hitherto yielded a general obedience to the orders of the Government; but recently he had shown so strong a leaning towards the rebellious Choshu, that Japanese in Yedo and Yokohama asserted, unequivocally, that he was actuated, not by friendship for CHOSHU—for the two clans had long been at variance, and the outrage on the SATSUMA steamer in the Shimonoseki straits had never been atoned for—but by personal ambition, mortified pride, and undisguised annoyance that the Tycoon had succeeded in keeping his word to the foreigners, in spite of all his efforts to prevent it.

This was also the belief of foreigners; and it excited but little wonder among us, when we heard, that directly the port of Hiogo and city of Osaka were opened, the intrigues against HITOTSUBASHI became more violent than ever. It was seen that the foreigners had now obtained the footing they were entitled to by treaty. There was little hope of removing them. Their ministers, their soldiers, and their powerful squadrons, were at hand to maintain their rights; and SATSUMA and CHOSHU had already had a taste of the quality of foreign fighting men. Helpless, therefore, against foreigners, their measures were all directed towards increasing their own power and influence at Court, and diminishing that of HITOTSUBASHI.

On the 3rd January, their first effort fructified. An edict was suddenly issued by the young Mikado, which took all but the authors of it by surprise. AIDZU's guardianship of the Nine gates was brought to an end, and the clans of SATSUMA, TOSA and GEISHIU were ordered to take over the charge. By this clever move, the palace and the person of the young ruler were entirely in their hands. It was a *coup d'état* that might well throw the Government and supporters of HITOTSUBASHI into a state of consternation and perplexity. But this was not all. The In-no-Miya and Nijō-ké, strong friends of HITOTSUBASHI, were put aside; the authority of the Kuampaku (the Mikado's prime minister), and Bakufu (the Tycoon's Government) ceased, and the titles were abolished. New offices were introduced, and new officials appointed to them. The old distinctions between the Court nobles and officials and those of the executive government were swept away, and the whole system of administration was changed. New titles were introduced, which for a long time rendered it extremely difficult for foreigners to understand—and it is only now, after years of experience of the changes, and changes upon changes, that have been constantly going on, that we are at all able to understand—the duties of an official from his title. The Miyas, the high class Kugés, as well as the samurai, were appointed to offices in all departments of the Government; but, for the most part, the old TOKUGAWA officials were dismissed and superseded. Henceforth, said the decree, everything connected with the Government will emanate from the Chotei—the Imperial Court; and all were, as usual, enjoined to obey the proclamation.

The issuing of this proclamation aroused the indignation of the TOKUGAWA adherents to the highest pitch. HITOTSUBASHI himself sent for AIDZU and others of the

Fudai daimios, bidding them come to the castle of Nijô, that they might consult as to the proper course to pursue under the extraordinary circumstances that had arisen. The result of this conference was that he wrote a letter to the Chotei, to the effect that it was evident there was some-one at the side of the young emperor who deceived him ; and this being so it was too important to be overlooked. He should therefore act upon the orders he had already received, and take affairs into his own hands.

This spirited memorial gave his enemies ground for expressing their surprise that he, who had offered to resign all his powers, should thus peremptorily attempt to resume them. But he went further. Yielding to the advice of his friends, he resolved to retire to Osaka, and fortify himself in the castle. "It was better," they said, "to take possession of this, the neck (key) of Kioto, than fall into the trap that was being laid for them."

Leaving a letter for the emperor, stating that he was going to Osaka to prevent an outbreak among his retainers, he left on the evening of the 6th, and arrived on the morning of the 7th January, accompanied by the two clans of AIDZU and KUWANA. His minister ITAKURA also, with all his followers, accompanied him.

It was a fatal move. An imperial order was promulgated, forbidding AIDZU and KUWANA to return to the capital. Thus the new men had it all their own way. None but themselves had the ear of the Mikado ; and they found no difficulty in moulding him to their will.

Nothing further was done with respect to HITOTSUBASHI, for a few days. I will, therefore, take the reader back to Yedo, that he may see how things progress in that capital. In Yedo hostilities occurred between the Government troops and Satsuma men from a totally different cause to that operating in Kioto. According to the information

supplied to foreigners by order of the Kanagawa (Yokohama) officials, it appeared that for some months a band of robbers had infested the mountainous country in the province of Shimodzuké, some distance to the north of Yedo, and committed many violent depredations on the inhabitants. The same band more recently moved to the province of Sagami, south of Yedo, and had the temerity to burn a daimio's camp near Kaghimo, after having first carried off all the goods that were stored in it. Finally, they went to Yedo itself, and created a reign of terror there, sacking the shops of wealthy citizens, with firearms, swords and pikes in their hands. These men were traced to the Satsuma yashiki.

Besides this, "some shots that had been fired into the camp of soldiers belonging to SAKAI SAYEMON-NO-JO, and also on a boat at Shinagawa, occupied by gentlemen belonging to H. B. M. Legation, came from Satsuma's yashiki."

It will give my readers a vivid idea of the state of things at the time, if I explain these facts as they have been explained to me by one of much influence and importance under the old *régime*. These robbers were Satsuma clansmen. They committed these depredations with no selfish end in view, but to obtain money to send to their own country to assist in paying the expenses of their clan's numerous army. They packed shoyu (soy) barrels with ni-boo kin, (gold two boo pieces) and sent them to Kagoshima. There are men very high in office in the present government who belonged to this band.

SAKAI SAYEMON-NO-JO was a daimio of 150,000 kokus; and to him had been assigned the duty of keeping the peace in Yedo. For this purpose he had taken many ronins into his pay; and they occupied stations all over the city. They were called the Shincho-gumi—newly raised band.

The complaints of the burglaries—the robberies with violence—committed by the SATSUMA men, reached Kioto, and orders were sent to SAKAI SAYEMON-NO-JO, to put a stop to them at all hazards. It was no political animosity against the clan that led to what is about to be told; the design was solely to arrest and punish the actual robbers, that the citizens might live peacefully and without alarm.

On the 19th January, SAKAI sent messengers to the Satsuma yashiki at Mita, Shiba, demanding that the robbers should be handed over to justice. The Satsuma men replied by decapitating the officer who had delivered the message, and firing upon the men who accompanied him. This intelligence was sent to SAKAI, who immediately assembled all the men at his disposal, and the yashiki was surrounded. A terrible hand to hand fight ensued. Fifty of the Satsuma men were killed, and many taken prisoners; but a good number of them cut their way through their assailants, and reached the beach at Shinagawa, where they managed to get boats and to escape to one of their own clan's steamers in the bay. As quickly as possible steam was got up, the anchor weighed, and the steamer left the harbour. She was fired into by four government ships as she passed, several of the shot going over H.B.M. gunboat Firm. Two steamers the Dumbarton and Eagle belonging to the Government pursued her, and off Mississippi Bay the latter brought her to action. It was an unwonted sight for a Sunday afternoon—usually so quiet. A lovely winter day, had enticed most of our residents out to enjoy the genial bracing weather, when at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, their attention was drawn to what appeared at first to be the firing of distant minute guns. Attracted by the sound, many made for points where they could get a sweeping view of the gulf of Yedo, and it

soon became plain that the reports at first heard were from long shots from a large steamer, sent after one much smaller in size, and which seemed disinclined to stop and take part in the game. Presently, however, she hove-to and poured in a broadside, which, though it fell short, showed she was capable of being no mean antagonist. The two vessels now kept up an active cannonade, and as they got one another's range, it was quite evident that each was receiving some damage. At length, for some cause we could not comprehend, the larger vessel, the Eagle, turned and steamed towards Yedo; whilst the little Satsuma steamer fired a last shot after her, and then made the best of her way out of the harbour.

The kami-yashiki (the principal one) of Satsuma was burnt to the ground. Not a stick was left standing; and the day after the fight the appearance of the site, strewn as it was with charred bodies, was a sight dreadful to behold.

It is probable that this had some effect on subsequent events, at least to the extent of increasing the animosity and personal feeling that had sprung up between Satsuma and Tokugawa.

On the 27th January, the day of the outbreak of hostilities at Fushimi, the new settlers at Kobé thought they were about to witness a naval engagement on a somewhat more extensive scale than that witnessed from Yokohama. The Tokugawa men-of-war Kaiyo-maru, Emperor and Fusi-yama, arrived from Osaka, outside the anchorage, which Satsuma's three steamers, the Scotland, Kiangsu and Lotus, were making preparations for leaving. About daylight the latter vessels got underweigh, when the Kaiyo-maru sent a couple of shots after them. The Kiangsu which was the rear vessel came round, communicated with the pursuers, and the firing

ceased. Then, deliberately steaming round the harbour, as if to show that she did not "flee for fear," she left the harbour, and went after her companions. Ultimately the Kaiyo-maru followed, and native accounts of the affair state that the Scotland was sunk in Awa Bay, and one of the others was set on fire by the crew, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

It had now become evident that the Government could not be carried on without money, and it became the all-important question whence this was to be obtained. It was decided that the Tokugawa revenues should be availed of. But to accomplish this it was desirable that HITOTSUBASHI should be appointed one of the Gijō (councillors), and to this end that he must be recalled from Osaka.

The daimios of ECHIZEN and OWARI were thereupon sent to Osaka with the Imperial commands. They assured HITOTSUBASHI of the entire friendship of the new Government towards him, and strongly urged him to return with them. They impressed upon him the propriety of making no military demonstration; and, that he might be under no apprehension of molestation, they offered themselves to escort him with their own soldiers.

Apparently he acquiesced; but that very night he called AIDZU, KUWANA and his highest officials, to the castle, and, laying before them the message he had received, asked their advice. It was unanimously given:—"The word of BISHU (OWARI) and ECHIZEN cannot be relied upon; if you must go to Kioto we will go with you, to die, if necessary, in your support."

Again was their advice taken. On the 27th January the army set forth having the men of AIDZU and KUWANA in the van.

The crisis had come. There are two roads from

Kioto to Osaka : one, the Toba-kaido, on the right side of the river Yodo ; the other the Fushimi-kaido, on the left side. Fushimi lies about seven miles from Kioto and twenty-five miles from Osaka on the latter road.

Both of these highways were occupied by Kioto forces, principally consisting of the Satsuma and Choshu clansmen. The Commander-in-chief was NINNAJI-NO-MRYA, before whom was carried the Imperial gold brocade banner.

The Osaka army also marched by both roads ; the main body, however, proceeding by the Fushimi-kaido. On the Toba road the retainers of TODO IDZUMI-NO-KAMI occupied a certain position, in the interests, as was believed, of Tokugawa.

On arriving at Fushimi and perceiving the barriers that had been raised to prevent their passage, the leaders of the main division sent messengers with a demand for their removal. Their prince, they said, was going to Kioto by Imperial command, and if obstructed, force would have to be used. Being answered by a refusal to remove the barriers, they returned ; and immediately the troops were ordered to advance.

The Kioto forces, seeing this determined movement, opened fire upon them from the guns that had been placed in position for the purpose ; the Osaka troops replied with volleys from their small arms ; and so that battle commenced, which, lasting with varying success, first to one side, and then to the other, for three whole days, was at length decided for the Kioto army, principally through the defection of the Tsu clan—the soldiers of TODO IDZUMI-NO-KAMI, who allowed themselves to be ‘talked over’ by emissaries from the imperialists, whilst the battle was in progress.

Messengers from the army were kept constantly going, to take information of the varying fortunes of the

struggle, to the chiefs, who had not yet left the castle. When it was seen that success was hopeless, HITOTSUBASHI, the princes of AIDZU and KUWANA, ITAKURA IGA-NO-KAMI and OGASAWARA IKI-NO-KAMI, with all the other high officials, made a hurried flight, most of them getting on board the Japanese men-of-war lying off Osaka. HITOTSUBASHI went on board the Kaiyo-maru, which, under the command of YENOMOTO KAMAJIRO, weighed anchor and departed for Yedo.

Before quitting the castle, HITOTSUBASHI gave orders that an intimation should be sent to each of the foreign ministers then in Osaka, that the fortune of war having decided against him, he was unable to afford them any further protection; and that as the hostile forces would soon reach Osaka, they had better provide for their own safety. All of the foreign representatives accordingly left the city. Sir HARRY PARKES left his Legation, which was at a greater distance from the foreign settlement than any of the others, being beyond the castle, about 10 o'clock the next morning, attended by the detachment of the 2nd Batt. 9th regiment and his Legation guard. They reached the settlement in safety, and there found some boats from H.M.S. Rattler, with the information that the weather was so tempestuous that it would be unsafe to attempt to cross the bar with the Legation, its archives and all its belongings. Dispatching the Mounted Escort, therefore, with Mr. MITTFORD, overland to Hiogo, Sir HARRY remained at the British Vice-Consulate until the weather moderated.

The other ministers had reached the fort of Temposan, at the mouth of the river, very early in the morning; but in consequence of the impossibility of reaching their ships, were detained there throughout the day.

Next morning Mr. LOCOCK and Mr. SATOW with an escort of 25 men and an officer of the 2nd 9th regiment, visited

the castle, but found it entirely deserted. When the TOKUGAWA officials had left, their followers quitted also, and went off in an easterly direction towards KISHIU. Many of the wounded and stragglers from the army, chiefly belonging to the AIZU clan, were met passing through the streets in the direction of the sea. Some of them, who were very severely wounded, were taken in at the fort of Temposan, where they were subsequently attended by Dr. WILLIS of H.B.M. Legation.

The same day, a small party of French Marines were sent up to the French Legation; but it had been absolutely gutted. At one point, as they passed through the street, they were assaulted by stones and other missiles by an excited mob, until one of them being seriously wounded in the head, they were obliged to fire on the mob to disperse them. They were afterwards allowed to pass to the foreign Concession unmolested. That night, the ministers who had been detained at the mouth of the river were able to embark on the men of war, and left for Hiogo. There the American, French and Prussian Ministers, were provided with quarters at the Custom House, which assumed quite a gay appearance with their respective flags waving in front of it. A guard of U.S. Marines was placed as a patrol, for their protection.

The following day, another party from the English Legation went to the castle. By this time it had been pillaged and set on fire. A large body of CHOSHU's men had entered the town; but those met with showed no kind of animosity against the foreigners. Indeed later in the day, when two members of the English Legation were being roughly handled by a mob, some of these troops coming up, protected them, and were with difficulty restrained from firing on their own countrymen in defence of the foreigners.

The next day, Sunday the 2nd February, the whole of the British Legation left Osaka, with the assistance of Captain STANHOPE of H. M. S. Ocean, and arrived at Kobé late in the evening.

It had been an anxious week for the foreign residents in Osaka. A fire had occurred in or near the Satsuma yashiki by which a quantity of goods belonging to the Dutch Trading Co. that had been stored in a godown in rear of the yashiki, were destroyed. That same night, the foreign residents assembled in a private house. At about 4 o'clock on the following morning, a brisk firing of small arms and cannon took place near the British Consulate; and at the request of the Japanese officials, all the Consuls and merchants, fifteen in number, moved to the Custom house, that they might be protected in case of the defeat of HITOTSUBASHI's troops; but they had shortly afterwards to adjourn to the Dutch Consulate, as a place of greater safety. The firing continued at intervals during the morning, and then ceased. The rumours of the progress of the battle that was raging on the Toba and Fushimi roads, began to have their effect upon the natives, who on the following day commenced to leave the city in great numbers.

On the 1st February the Governor of Hiogo, SHIBATA HRUGA-NO-KAMI, sent a letter to each of the foreign Consuls, informing them that in the present disturbed state of Osaka, with the troops of Satsuma still pressing on, it was impossible to say whether they would come that way or not. The Government, would of course use its best endeavours to protect foreign flags and foreign subjects, but in the unsettled and unsatisfactory state of affairs, it was desirable that the latter should withdraw to their ships.

The Consuls, on receipt of this document, issued a

joint notification, giving a translation of the Governor's communication, but pointing out that as there was no reliable intelligence leading to the supposition that Hiogo would be attacked, they were inclined to believe that there was no real cause for alarm. At the same time the occupation of Hiogo by the Tycoon's enemies might tend to endanger life and property. Under these circumstances each person was recommended to act as he thought best. The Governor of Hiogo undertook to provide and keep in readiness a number of boats for the use of foreigners, and the Acting Consul of England and the United States' Consular Agent concerted a code of day and night signals, by which the men-of-war of their respective nations could at once be communicated with, in case of emergency.

CHAPTER XIV.

1868.

DEATH BY DROWNING OF REAR ADMIRAL BELL, U.S.N., HIS FLAG LIEUTENANT AND TEN SEAMEN, IN CROSSING OSAKA BAR.—DANGER OF THE ENGLISH ADMIRAL A FEW DAYS BEFORE.—FUNERAL OF THE DECEASED.—DEATH OF MR. MYBURGH.—H. B. M. CONSUL AT YOKOHAMA ISSUES A NOTIFICATION IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DISTURBANCES IN YEDO, WARNING HIS COUNTRYMEN TO AVOID LONG EXCURSIONS INTO THE COUNTRY.

WHILST the stirring events recorded in the last chapter were transpiring, foreigners were filled with sorrow at two occurrences more closely connected with themselves.

In small and isolated communities, such as are found in all the open ports, each individual becomes more or less known ; and men of the Civil, Naval and Military services especially, whatever their nationality, are accorded a degree of importance probably beyond that they would enjoy at home. Thus they are to some extent marked men ; some of them becoming very popular, whilst others are merely tolerated ; the difference generally arising from the degree of sympathy they have shown with the concerns, social or otherwise, of the mercantile residents for whose protection, and in whose interests, they are sent out by their respective Governments.

In 1865, Rear Admiral BELL, of the U.S. Navy, arrived in Japan, to take command of the Asiatic Squadron of the United States, in these seas. In April 1867, having completed his term of service, his retirement was, according to the rules of the U.S. navy, compulsory, and he only awaited the arrival of his successor. On the 11th January, 1868, when he was expecting his speedy relief and looking forward to a return to his own country and relatives, he was drowned, whilst attempting to cross the Osaka bar in his barge. The boat upset, and the Admiral, his flag Lieutenant J. H. REID, with ten men out of a crew of thirteen, were lost.

Such an event as this, under any circumstances is calculated to arouse warm feelings of sympathy and regret; but at such a time, among so limited a number of foreigners, and when the eyes of all were especially turned on the operations of the officials and the squadrons at the newly opened ports, the gloom, the sorrow, that overspread all the settlements, as the news reached them, was very profound.

And this feeling was not lessened by the fact that Admiral Sir HERRY KEPPEL—probably the most universally popular naval commander ever sent by England to the East—had narrowly escaped a similar fate a few days before.

He left Hiogo on the 7th January, in H.M.S. Sylvia. With him were Captain STANHOPE, Commander BULLOCK, and several other officers who were proceeding to Osaka. On the 9th instant, the Admiral, Captain STANHOPE, Mr. MITFORD of H.B.M.'s Legation, and Lieut. BRADSHAW of H.M. 2/9th Regiment, returned down the river, reaching the bar about sunset, in the Sylvia's steam-cutter, assisted by a tow-line from the steam-launch. A stiff westerly gale was blowing, and there was such a heavy sea on the bar, that it became necessary for the safety

of both, to separate, and the cutter was cast adrift. Even then the steam-launch had the narrowest possible escape from swamping.

The cutter, after almost superhuman exertion on the part of the crew, succeeded in surmounting the dangers of the bar, but they could not reach the *Sylvia*. The French man-of-war *Laplace* was however nearer, and under her stern they lay, not attempting to go on board, for several hours.

All the small incidents of these early days, that show the pleasant amenities between the different nationalities, are particularly pleasant to recall to memory. Whilst in the hazardous position described, and dashed about by the violence of the sea, every courtesy was shown to the Admiral and his companions, officers and crew, by Captain AMET and the officers of the *Laplace*, who lowered down to the boat refreshments of all kinds. At last, during a short lull, the steam-launch crossed from the *Sylvia* to the *Laplace*, having the ship's life-boat in tow, and after some little trouble in transferring themselves from the cutter into the life-boat, the Admiral and other passengers reached the *Sylvia*.

I have spoken of the exertions that were necessary to save the steam-cutter. In fact, after being cut adrift on the evening of the 9th, she was turned round by the force of the rollers, filled to the thwarts with water and the engine fires were extinguished. Happily, however, being built as a life-boat, the officers and crew were saved from a watery grave; but the cold of a winter night, aggravated by the bitter wind blowing upon them whilst their clothes were saturated with salt water, had to be borne throughout the night, and until the other life-boat could reach them.

The *Sylvia* returned to Osaka on the 11th, to recover her boat. On arriving off the bar the sea still ran high ;

and intelligence was brought to her of the swamping of the American boat and the loss of all on board with the exception of three seamen. The bodies of Admiral BELL, Lieut. REID, and all of the men, were recovered, and they were buried in the Kobé cemetery. The funeral was very impressive.

The boats of the English and American men-of-war assembled alongside the Hartford (U.S. flag-ship) at 10.30 A.M. on the 14th January, and punctually at 11 o'clock they put off for the shore escorting the boats with the mortal remains of the deceased officers and men, (all equal now), to the beach. Here a strong party of American Marines were drawn up in line, and saluted the departed on being landed, by presenting arms, and with the rolling of the muffled drums. A procession was formed which slowly wended its way to the cemetery in the following order. The Marines with reversed arms led the way, followed by the band of H.M. Ironclad Ocean, playing the "Dead March in Saul," after which came the corpse of Admiral BELL followed by Commodore GOLDSBOROUGH, the senior officers of the United States' Squadron, and the three survivors of the melancholy accident. Next came the body of Lieut. REID, followed by several officers, and then the bodies of the ten seamen, carried two abreast, each coffin covered by an American ensign. These were followed by a large body of American and English sailors, who marched four abreast; and these again, by the British Consular officers, and then by a large number of American and English officers, the rear of the procession being brought up by almost every foreign resident in Hiogo. After the service for the burial of the dead had been read, the marines fired three volleys over the graves. During the mournful ceremony, the American ships fired minute guns, and the flags of all the vessels in harbour were

at half mast. At sunset a touching ceremony took place. The *Hartford* hoisted the Rear Admiral's flag at the mizzen, and, after saluting it with thirteen guns, struck it, never to rise again for its old commander.

Amongst those who followed in the funeral procession was FRANCIS GERHARD MYBURGH, H.B.M. Consul. Only eight days later he was followed to the cemetery to be laid side by side with those who had already been the subject of such genuine regret.

Mr. MYBURGH was one of those amiable, yet manly, beings, who are beloved by all. Always up to his duties; ever accessible to all ranks; he was at the same time conspicuous in all those qualifications which bind men together in social life. With his indefatigable assistant Mr. RUSSELL ROBERTSON, (then attached to his Consulate as interpreter, but now H.B.M. Consul at Kanagawa), he had been energetic in the service of his countrymen, in arranging for them fair terms for their leases from Japanese householders, and had succeeded in putting a stop to the prodigious squeezes at first attempted upon the new-comers. But he was seized by the inexorable leveller, and after a few days of acute suffering from *peritonitis*, his place knew him no more.

Mr. F. J. LOWDER was ordered to replace him as Acting Consul at Hiogo.

But Yokohama was not without its sensational incidents, apart from such as were provided from other ports. On the 20th January, Mr. LACHLAN FLETCHER, H.B.M. Consul at Kanagawa, issued a notification,—in compliance with a communication he had received from the Governor of Kanagawa, informing him of serious disturbances having been made by lawless persons in Yedo and the neighbourhood, demanding the armed interference of the

Government ;—cautioning British subjects from going on the Tokaido, or in the direction of Yedo, or from making long excursions into the country in any direction.

On the 5th February it was currently reported in the settlement that an attempt had been made to set fire to the French Legation at Benten, Yokohama, which had been discovered and prevented by the sentries on guard. Alarmed and disturbed, the presumed miscreants fled ; but the active pursuit instituted by M. LAPEYROUSE, the Consul, resulted in the capture of one of the men, the other managing to escape after receiving a sharp blow from the butt end of a musket.

On search being made a faggot of wood was discovered, said to have been partially burnt. The man who was captured had thrown himself into the sea, and having swam to a wooden jetty near the Legation, (which was built at the water-side), he was there taken, and handed over to the Japanese authorities.

On examination before the proper officials the man gave his evidence in a very straightforward manner. He told his own name and that of his companion, saying that they were farmers belonging to Kadzusa, (on the other side of the bay). They had brought a boat-load of firewood to sell in Yokohama, and had been prevented from landing it at Benten by the state of the tide. They had, however, each taken a bundle of the firewood on shore, to offer it for sale ; and they were unaware that the lane through which they were passing, (a passage between the French and Italian Legations) was not a public thoroughfare. The only reason of their running away was that they were afraid when they saw foreigners hastening towards them, as if to molest them.

The faggot said to have been half burnt, was found to be an ordinary bundle of firewood, and there were no

signs of fire having been applied to it. It is more than likely, therefore, that the man's tale was true.

On the 6th February, increased activity was visible in the movement of troops in our neighbourhood. Four or five hundred of Amzu's men arrived from the north, with the purpose of embarking for Osaka ; but on their reaching Yokohama they learnt that their destination was changed. Their master had arrived in Yedo, and they were ordered to hasten thither. They embarked in lighters and were towed by a small steamer called the Inakawa, to Yedo.

Thus, many circumstances combined to keep us anxiously on the *qui vive*.

CHAPTER XV.

1868.

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE BY A FORMER PAGE OF THE LATE TYCOON.—HIS INTRODUCTION TO THE PALACE.—IYEMOCHI'S KINDNESS.—PRESENTATION TO AND RECEPTION BY HITOTSUBASHI.—HALCYON DAYS.—THE DAILY LIFE OF THE TYCOON.—EXCITEMENT IN KIOTO BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE PORTS.—THE TYCOON GOES TO OSAKA.—THE CONSEQUENCES.

BEFORE we take leave of HITOTSUBASHI, a glance at his daily life in the palace, will have a very particular interest for all readers. It was written for me by a gentleman who acted as one of his pages from the time of his accession until his flight from Osaka. It appeared years ago in the *Far East* magazine, but it is well worth reproduction. It is told as

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

I was born in the province of Etchizen, at a village near the city of Fukui, in the year 1853. My father was a samurai of the clan, famous as a teacher of sword exercise, and in this accomplishment I made considerable progress from my earliest years. At the age of 10, I was adopted by a gentleman, who took me to Kioto. He

held office in the household of the Tycoon ; and when IYEMOCHI came to Kioto, he asked my adopted father to bring me to the castle sometimes, to play. This was my introduction to the palace. I never received the appointment of page to the Tycoon, but I for some time performed the duties, and during the period that elapsed between the death of IYEMOCHI and the fall of the Tycoonate, I saw much that will probably be of interest to foreign readers.

IYEMOCHI was but a youth when he was appointed to the office, which was in 1858, after the death of his predecessor who had died shortly after receiving the letter of the President of the United States which had been brought by Commodore PERRY.

IYEMOCHI was the son of the prince of Kishiu, one of the Gosanké—or three royal houses, MITO, OWARI and KI, from whom alone the selection could be made. He married the sister of the Mikado, KADZU-MIYA, a most amiable princess, of about the same age as himself.

The first time I saw him was in the year 1866. My adopted father was O-soba Goyo-nin—the head of all the pages, (Chamberlain),—an important office, inasmuch as, in addition to the supervision of all departments of the palace, the duty included that of personal private attendance on the Tycoon, and the conveyance to him of all communications from the Gorojiu. In those days too, it was compulsory for all daimios to reside in Yedo during a portion of every year, and on their arrival they were expected to attend at the castle to offer their felicitations to the Tycoon, and present the offerings they invariably brought from their provinces. It was the business of my adopted father to introduce these high visitors ; and of course he was held in great consideration accordingly.

I was never at the castle in Yedo. It was when the Tycoon went to Kioto that I first was taken to the palace in that city—the famous castle of Nijô.

My entrance to the palace was the result of an order from the Tycoon to my adopted father to bring me, that he might see me ; and I, being at the time about 18 years of age, was admitted by the private entrance leading to the ladies' quarters. I shall never forget the first emotions I experienced on my entrance. I was met by numerous young and beautiful female attendants, who led me into the royal presence in the ladies' palace. At that time KADZU-MIYA had not arrived. I found IYEMOCHI without any kind of state, seated on a heavily embroidered silk f'tong, and although the room was, like all other Japanese rooms, without any great amount of furniture, yet to my young vision, everything bore the aspect of richness and superiority. The Tycoon was in his manner wonderfully gentle and kind, and treated me so condescendingly, that I felt I could devote my life to his service and never leave him. He spoke to me familiarly, and seemed satisfied with me ; for he asked me to come and amuse myself in the palace precincts whenever I liked, and gave orders to my father accordingly ; and this invitation was considered as a command, which it would have been impolite and ill-mannered not to obey. I went many times, but I did not always see the Tycoon. Invariably I was received in the ladies' palace, and tea and sweetmeats were offered to me, according to the Japanese custom, but never in the presence of his highness. After a short time IYEMOCHI was called to Choshiu by the troubles in that province. He left for AKI, and I remaining in Kyoto never saw him again, as he was seized with illness on the way, and proceeded to Osaka, where he died. Previous to his death, I left Kyoto for Yedo where my true father and brothers were anxious to see me. After a stay of some months I returned to Kyoto, and was presented by my adopted father to YOSHI-HISA—better known by foreigners as HITOTSUBASHI,

and by Japanese as **KEIKI**. I never spoke of or to him then by his name. The term most generally used was **Go-zen**,—literally Your Majesty or Your Highness—pronounced exactly as the same word signifying food. From this time I was very much at the palace—**Wakasa yashiki**—about four cho distant from the castle of **Nijō** where the former Tycoon had resided. I was now instructed in the duties of a page to his highness, but never regularly received the appointment; nor did I actually take up my permanent quarters in the palace. My duties were to convey all messages to and from his highness, to make tea for him—an art which has to be learnt, and only few attain to perfection—and generally to attend upon him in turn with the fifty other pages.

When first I was honoured by being introduced to him, I was accompanied by a young friend about my own age. I was, as before, taken into the ladies' quarters, where the Tycoon was seated; and to my astonishment and delight he filled a cup with wine for me with his own hand. There may have been about ten ladies present, the remainder being in their own apartments. They were all beautiful and noble looking—different to any I had ever seen before, except in the castle of **Nijō**. His highness, as I was about to depart, asked me to write a verse of poetry in large Chinese characters; and one of the ladies having gracefully brought and handed to me the *sudzuri* or writing materials, I wrote five or six verses. His highness, however, did not allow me to go at once, but condescendingly took me to the lake where was a boat used by him for his diversion, and he rowed me about for some little time. He also fished with a net, and shewed me how to throw it. Afterwards he saw a hawk making beautiful circles in the air, and having a revolver with him, he fired at and killed it. From this I discovered the truth of the report I had heard of his

extraordinary skill with the pistol. I have often seen him shoot since, and very rarely did he miss his mark.

He was so kind that I love to dwell upon his goodness. Before I left he gave me a foreign musical box, several sheets of foreign paper—at that time comparatively rare among Japanese, a gun, and the hawk which he had shot; and I returned home literally laden with his favours. Such was my first experience of KEIKI-sama. On my return home, my adopted father was quite rejoiced to find how greatly I had been honoured, and it served as a theme of conversation for long afterwards. Many times afterwards I went to the palace, and was always treated in the same generous manner by the Tycoon, as well as by the ladies and all the household.

These were halcyon days for me, I had an eminent Chinese scholar to instruct me, and I loved to receive his praises for my progress and industry. I went to see everything that was of note in the metropolis, either for its beauty, its antiquity or its historical associations; and it seemed as if life was all sunshine. Especially when I look back upon it do I see a bright broad path of light illumining that period, throwing all that was before it, and that followed, into the deeper darkness. My adopted father treated me with boundless affection, and my future seemed marked out in a bright and happy career; but it was not to last for ever, as I shall have occasion to show.

As I increased the number of my visits, I found myself gradually and almost insensibly performing the duties of a page. It is hard to describe to those unacquainted with Japanese habits, what these duties were; but they will be better understood if I state what was the usual routine of life in the palace.

The Tycoon generally rose about 8 o'clock in the morning, and at once performed his toilet, one of the

pages dressing his hair for him every day. The strings with which his hair was bound were of course new every morning, and he never wore anything twice. I distinctly wish to be understood that I do not mean that his under-clothing only was new, but every portion of his dress, which was principally of the richest silk. Of course his sleeping apartment was in the palace of ladies. Having finished his toilet he took a simple breakfast. Seven or eight zen (small tables about a foot or 18 inches square and 8 or 9 inches high—beautifully lacquered) were placed before him, each with some kind of fish or condiment upon it. All kinds of food, brought from every portion of the empire, found a place here, and he generally took his morning meal by himself. Unfortunately his wife was not with him in Kioto, having remained in Yedo when he accompanied IYEMOCHI south.

At 10 o'clock, he would go to the Court, and see his Gorojuu or ministers, and attend to business of the empire. After noon he usually went to the palace of male attendants, and proceeded to amuse himself. He was a very clever sportsman as well as an excellent equestrian ; and the next few hours were devoted to such enjoyments. He was fond of shooting with bow and arrow, as well as with the gun, and was a first rate hawk. About 3 or 4 o'clock he returned to the ladies' palace, and there recreated himself until the evening. If the weather was very warm, the ladies fanned him while he enjoyed his *dolce far niente*. About six o'clock he dined, the display of food at this meal being very great and splendidly laid out. I may here mention the fact that KEIKI-sama was the first to introduce foreign food as well as foreign customs among the nobles of Japan. He dined by himself, his ladies attending upon him, often to the number of twenty or even more. Dinner was generally prolonged to between 10 or 11 o'clock, after

which he soon retired for the night. Occasionally, but not often, he was entertained with music—but the *samisen* was not allowed to be played in the palace, as it was considered to be common and vulgar. The *koto* and many other instruments were used : some of them, I know, less appreciated by foreigners than by Japanese ; but a large proportion of my countrymen think of the foreign bands what foreigners think of ours—that their music is unmitigated noise. In this opinion I do not share.

Such was the current life from day to day in the palace.

From what I have said it will be pretty well understood how I was occupied when I went to the palace. Although myself not of a strong physique, yet I had been taught sword exercise by my father from my earliest years. I was therefore by no means contemptible as a competitor in such play. I was also a fair handler of the spear and bow and arrow—but unless especially invited, I never presumed to exhibit my powers in the palace. One of the Tycoon's greatest enjoyments, and in which he was very skilful, was *Dakiu* (hockey on horseback), and in this he would ask some of the pages to join his game. He would also occasionally order them to shoot with him—but this more rarely. I am not an accomplished horseman, but the little I know, he taught me.

Whilst such was the superficial life in the palace, we all knew that there was a load on the mind of our master, which it required a determined man to bear. Although we were in his presence so constantly we did not hear much of what was going on in the Government. There were times when he seemed more disturbed than at others, but, as a rule, he was calm and incommunicative. I cannot now think that his life could have been happy—for he had no companions. Even a daimio was

looked upon as so immeasurably his inferior that for them to associate was impossible. A daimio entering his presence must bow his head to the floor, and remain in that position throughout the interview ; consequently none could be invited to eat with him ; and all he saw of them or any other person was strictly as a matter of state business, and crowded with etiquette.

I well remember the excitement in Kioto as the time approached for opening Osaka and Hiogo to foreigners. I was but 15 years old, and yet I fully recollect that my prejudices against foreigners were as strong as those of others of my countrymen. I never heard the Tycoon make any remark about them ; although I was present when at Osaka the French Minister visited him, and received a sword with the Tokugawa badge as a gift, which he immediately transferred to his sword-belt and wore as he left the palace. I also was present when an English photographer from one of the English men-of-war, was invited to take the Tycoon's portrait, and I had the honour of receiving a copy of the portrait, in conjunction with my adopted father. I have it still. (A reduced copy of it serves as the frontispiece to the first volume of this work.) I do not think I was present at the reception of the English Minister, although I recollect the occasion.

Towards the close of the year 1867, when we were all looking for the day on which the ports should be opened, things began to assume a very remarkable aspect.

Messengers were constantly entering and leaving the palace, and interviews were accorded at all hours to princes or their karoo. We knew that things were assuming a dangerous shape, and yet it did not seem likely that there could be any attempt to overthrow the rule of the Tycoon. I do not mean to say that his

highness shewed no anxiety, for he certainly did on more than one occasion give evidence of the doubts he was enduring; but I cannot think he really apprehended a forcible downfall. Looking back to those occurrences, and knowing much more now than I did then of what was moving around me, I fancy he would not have been sorry had he been himself the means of introducing the changes which have taken place; but to be honest, I did not think much about such things in those days. A most extraordinary calm prevailed in Kioto for two or three days before the war commenced. All the people foresaw that a great struggle was imminent, and they shut up their houses and did not attempt to do any business.

It was in the month of January 1868, that KEIKI privately left Kioto castle, (Nijō), to which he had changed his residence, and went down to Osaka. He rode on horseback accompanied by a very few attendants who were also on horses. He arrived at Osaka castle in safety, very early in the morning of the following day, and a conference took place with his officers as to the best course to pursue. Some urged that he should return the power committed to him, into the hands of the Emperor (as I believe he had previously done but the Mikado would not accept his resignation); whilst others advised that he should place himself at the head of the numerous clans who were faithful to him, and fight the clans who were raising the rebellion. The clans Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa were the chief of the disaffected; and we knew that it was ambition on the part of the Satsuma clan that was working most potently against our master.

The Tycoon had not been many days in Osaka, when he received a command from the Mikado to return to Kioto, and preparations were made to go with a large

and powerful force. The van had started, but it would be yet four days before the entire army had left the castle, and the Tycoon was to accompany the last. On the van reaching Fushimi, they met with the advanced guard of the three clans, who opposed their passage through the town. Whilst the colloquy was proceeding, a tremendous volley of rifles was heard, and bullets flew like hail-stones from both sides of a bamboo grove. This was the commencement of the civil war, and that day many were killed and wounded. The news of the fight quickly spread, and of course the Tycoon heard of it. That day his highness was granting an audience to a karoo of one of the chief daimios who had joined what was afterwards known as the Kwangun party, and the karoo was urging him to shew a bold front, and guaranteed that not a sword should be drawn against him. All of a sudden, a messenger hastened in and announced that the battle of Fushima had commenced; and immediately all was confusion.

The battle was in favour of the three clans. In the midst of it a most lamentable defalcation took place. The Tsu clan who had been located in Fushimi, went over to the enemy and fought against their comrades. The great progenitor of this family had been one of the most faithful followers of IYEFAS, and no one would have thought it possible for such a base desertion to take place. I had gone to Osaka with my adopted father when he went there with the Tycoon; I was therefore an eye witness of what was going on. Immediately on hearing of the battle and the defeat of his troops, KEIKI gave orders to prepare for his departure for Yedo. My adopted father therefore hurriedly secured a boat from a boathouse near Shinsei Bashi; and in this His Highness made the best of his way to the ships in harbour. We heard that he and some of his Gorojiu and officers had

reached the Kaiyo-maru in safety ; and that steam had at once been got up, and the course shaped for Yedo.

All our troubles began now ; and for my own part I escaped I hardly know how. My adopted father accompanied His Highness, and I was left alone in the castle. Panic seized on most of the soldiers. I saw many boxes of treasure each with 1,000 rios, but no one at first thought of taking them—all thought only of their own lives. At length one officer, cooler than the rest, gave orders to all the soldiers to make the best of their way to Kishiu, and the treasure boxes were taken to defray the expenses of the journey. The ladies of the court had been sent to Yedo by sea some days before the outbreak ; so there was no fear on their account. The soldiers of the three clans arrived quickly in Osaka, and taking possession of the castle which had been set on fire by the Tokugawa samurai, proceeded to ransack it, whilst some went to the residences of the foreign ministers, which they found deserted. I escaped to Sakai, to the house of a relative ; and though it might be supposed that no notice would be taken of a boy of 15 years of age, yet I had not long been in the house, before some Tosa soldiers arrived and proceeded to search it. I fled and got into a fishing boat close to the light beacon. The fishermen had happened to empty the well of the boat, and into this some other samurai and I squeezed ourselves and drew the boards across the top so as to avoid suspicion. I had left Osaka with the clothes I stood up in. All my effects I had left behind ; but my money, of which I had always a liberal supply, I had secured in bundles which I carried round my waist. We made an agreement with the fisherman to take us to Yoshida, now called Toyohashi ; about 280 water ri from Sakai. It is needless to tell of the sufferings we endured in that little boat. The sea was very rough, and we were never dry ;

always one or other of us having to bail out the water with a small bucket. When we reached our destination we heard dreadful reports of the massacre of Tokugawa troops by their opponents ; many of which proved to be true. I, however, was in comparative safety, and I need say no more about myself.

The Tycoon arrived in Yedo, and after consultation with his counsellors, he determined to submit implicitly to the Mikado, and to retire to Uyéno, where the graves of his ancestors would surround him. He gave orders, that all his supporters should follow his example, and yield obedience to the Emperor. This was variously judged by different minds ; but it obtained from many who would have shed the last drop of their blood for him and his cause, the strongest condemnation. He was ordered to leave Yedo and remain in Mito, and thither he repaired at once. He has ever since maintained perfect privacy ; and no sign has yet been given of even the probability of his return to public life. It has many times been reported that government have made proposals to him ; but I doubt their having done anything of the kind ; and I hope that should any attempts be made to induce him to re-enter on political life he will continue to resist them.

He now lives in retirement at Sumpu ; but he is still surrounded by thousands of Tokugawa hatamoto and samurai ; and although I am sure he is too loyal to his country to disturb its present tranquility, yet one signal from him would call to his standard a very formidable following. Among the changes that have taken place, the necessity for providing for the dependents of the Tokugawa dynasty suggested that those who were competent and willing to be useful to government should be allowed to transfer their allegiance to Tokei-fu—and thus a large number are now loyal subjects of the new order of things ; but

throughout the empire, there are still some who refuse to serve any but the old house.

On the retirement of KEIKI, a boy of eight years old named KAMENOSUKE the adopted son of TAYASU, was appointed the head of the Tokugawa ; but as all the old ranks have been abolished, he like other daimios is now only *kazoku*—a nobleman. The present private name of KEIKI-sama is ICHIDO.

CHAPTER XVI.

1868.

THE EX-TYCOON ARRIVES IN YEDO.—THE MIYA COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF ENTERS OSAKA IN TRIUMPH.—NATURE OF HIS OFFICE.—MILITARY ADVISERS.—SAIGO AVERSE TO FORCE.—THE FORCE OF EVENTS.—THE EX-TYCOON STRIPPED OF POWER.—AN ARMY UNDER ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA TO PROCEED TO THE EAST, TO ENFORCE SUBMISSION.—SOUTHERN CLANS ACQUIESCENT.—MATZ'DAIRA BIZEN-NO-KAMI.—ATTACK ON FOREIGNERS IN KOBE BY HIS TROOPS.—VIGOROUS ACTION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND FORCES.—KOBE IN A STATE OF SIEGE.—PROCLAMATIONS BY THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES.—EMISSARIES FROM SATSUMA.—BAD CONDUCT OF SOME FOREIGN SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.—AN ENVOY FROM THE MIKADO.—SATISFACTORY ASSURANCES.—END OF THE STATE OF SIEGE.—CAPTURE, EXAMINATION AND RELEASE, OF A PARTY OF TOSA'S OFFICERS.—SECOND VISIT OF THE MIKADO'S ENVOY WITH PLAN OF GOVERNMENT.—ITO SHIUNSKÉ GOVERNOR OF KOBE.—INVITATION OF MINISTERS TO AN AUDIENCE WITH THE MIKADO AT KIOTO.—MR. SATOW AND DOCTOR WILLIS VISIT KIOTO.—OSAKA REVISITED.—FRENCH MINISTER RETURNS TO KOBE WITH FOUR MEN-OF-WAR.—SIR HARRY PARKES' INFLUENCE STRONGLY EXERTED IN SUPPORT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.—SYMPATHY OF OTHER MINISTERS AND THE COMMUNITIES WITH THE TYCOONATE.—HARAKIRI OF BIZEN'S OFFICER.

The Kaiyo-maru arrived at Yedo anchorage on the 4th February, and on the following morning the ex-Tycoon landed and went to his palace in the castle. There, for a

time I leave him, to follow the course of events in the west. Things were about to assume a very cloudy aspect; one, however, that should, in course of time, be followed, for foreigners at least, by brighter sunshine than they had yet experienced.

On the 2nd February, the Miya commanding-in-chief the imperial forces, entered Osaka in triumph. It must be understood that though he is thus denominated, his duties were very different to those of a foreign general. He was no soldier, and was there solely as the representative of the emperor, who is supposed to be in Japan as elsewhere, the head of all the national forces. To him was committed the Holy Banner; and as the army moved he accompanied it. He may indeed have had to issue the actual orders for its movements, but only on receiving the decisions of the military advisers, the principal leaders of the several clans. As yet these had no officers ranking as those in foreign armies, except in the few instances where foreign drill had been adopted in its integrity. The leaders consulted as to the plan of attack or defence, and then general instructions being conveyed to the divisions who were to take part in them, each went off to carry out the directions in the best manner he could. The leaders had literally to lead their men, and to fight desperately to show a good example and keep up their personal prestige.

I have only mentioned Choshu and Satsuma as having been engaged in opposing the Tokugawa troops, during the recent fight—in this following most of the native accounts—because they bore the brunt of the battle, the Satsuma clan having had one hundred and fifty, the Choshu clan one hundred and twenty, men actually killed. There were contingents sent by several other daimios, but none suffered so severely as these.

SAIGO KITCHINOSUKE was one of the military advisers

of the Satsuma clan. It has been reported that, like all truly brave men, he was at first strongly averse to using force, and that his counsels would have prevailed had not HITOTSUBASHI taken the ill-advised step of leaving Kyoto.

Events had hitherto favoured the schemes of those who professed to restore the Imperial rule, beyond their most sanguine expectations; but now, they forced a passage for themselves, and carried everything before them. The danger was, lest, the old officials having been dispensed with, the country should suffer whilst new ones were learning their duty. SHIMADZU OSUMI-NO-KAMI had no idea that the spring which had hitherto been kept within bounds by the Tycoon, and which might have been utilised gradually but effectually to aid the growth of enlightened government and progressive improvement, had, by the removal of the control that had hitherto directed its course, suddenly burst forth into a torrent which should overwhelm the daimios, sweep away the ancient national manners and customs, and finally become a placid river on whose tranquil bosom the foreign argosies of western knowledge and civilization should be floated into Japan. From the day on which the ex-Tycoon fled from Osaka, the ambition of Satsuma and all the daimios who supported him was checkmated. The title of daimio, the territorial revenues, remained to them a little longer; but the authority had virtually passed away. From that time they have had little or nothing to say; and to this day, SABURO retains all his ancient predilections, the ancient dress, the ancient habits of his ancestors. He writhes under the innovations of the past twelve years; and, avoiding the city of Tokio and the neighbourhood of the Court, to the utmost of his power, he dwells in his native province of Satsuma, and sighs in silent solitude for the good old days.

On the 11th day of the first month (5th February,) an Imperial decree was issued by which the ex-Tycoon and all who had supported him were stripped of power; and a proclamation was sent to all daimios, stating that, in order to punish the disobedience of HITOTSUBASHI, (whom I will in future call by his new name KEIKI), in attempting to approach Kioto when summoned by the Mikado, accompanied by a large army, which was contrary to the imperial commands, a powerful force was about to be sent to the East to enforce his submission. Of this army ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA was appointed Commander-in-chief. He was entrusted both with the Brocade banner and the Holy sword. All the daimios were ordered to supply troops for the imperial army; and preparations were made for an early start. All the clans in the south and in the neighbourhood of Kioto gave in their adhesion; some under menace; some under persuasion. Some, notably the men of Geishiu and Chikuzen, did so avowedly with the understanding that when the country was tranquilised, and the power of the Mikado firmly established, a great united effort would be made to get rid of foreigners. In fact it was the party known as *Sako-jo-i-ron* (those who upheld the expulsion of foreigners and the closing of the ports) that had prevailed, and their representations found favour with many who had not heretofore taken an active part in opposing the Tycoon, but who viewed his pro-foreign tendencies with jealousy and dislike.

One of the clans that early obeyed the summons of the emperor was that of MATSUDAIRA BIZEN-NO-KAMI, a daimio of 310,000 kokus, whose castle was at Okayama, in the province of Bizen, in the island of Kiushiu. It was the precipitation of his men, in their hatred of foreigners, that more than any other event, forced the government to

change its plans, to show its hand, and to declare openly in favour of an honest observance of the treaties ?

The circumstances were these. On the 4th February, a party of Bizen soldiers under IKEDA ISE and HEIKI TATEWAKI landed at Hiogo, and commenced their march through Kobé to Osaka. The advance-guard, consisting of about 150 men, reached the foreign quarters, the Japanese all bowing down as the officers approached. An American named Collins failing to make this customary obeisance one of the soldiers went up to him menacingly, and angrily ordered him to bow down, but as he still remained standing, the fellow thrust him against the wall with the muzzle of his rifle. He succeeded in getting away from his assailant and beyond the reach of danger. Two men belonging to the English Minister's Mounted Escort were next met, followed by a native servant. A scowling retainer went up to the boy and asked who they were. He answered that they were foreign soldiers and that he was their servant ; when the man brought down his rifle point-blank against the frightened menial and pulled the trigger. Luckily it missed fire, and the lad lived to tell the tale of his narrow escape. Next two French marines wishing to cross the road came between the wind and their nobility by passing through their ranks—by no means as close, be it understood, as the ranks of European armies on the march. Thereupon an order was given to cut them down, and a number of the Bizen men uncovering their weapons made a rush at the two offenders, one of whom managed to escape unhurt, the other receiving a slight wound. Then the fellows showed the spirit by which they were actuated. They fired down the street indiscriminately at every foreigner they saw, wounding severely an American sailor.

At the moment of the attack Sir HARRY PARKES

was at the other end of the settlement with one of his escort. Being on foot and unarmed, they hastened for their lives to the Consulate; and Sir HARRY at once proceeded to take vigorous steps to meet the danger. The signals agreed upon were made to the shipping, and in a marvellously short space of time 80 marines and 40 seamen from H.M.S. Ocean, under the command, respectively, of Captain BRYDGES and Lieutenant CORNWALL, landed; and, joining a small party of 14 U.S. Marines with a field-piece under Mr. MULDAUR from the U.S.S. Oneida, hastened in pursuit of the aggressors.

Sir HARRY had ordered out his guard, (the detachment of the 2nd 9th regiment and the mounted Escort), and placing himself at their head, led them against the excited samurai. No doubt these latter had thought it fine amusement to see the unarmed pedestrians flying for shelter into the native houses; but when they saw the uniforms of armed men in the distance, they wasted no time in reflection, but declining to continue the game, made a *stampede* in such haste that very few could be overtaken. They were pursued for some distance, but dispersed hither and thither, throwing away their arms and all *impedimenta*; so that the naval party already mentioned, following at the double along the road that been taken by the majority, chased by Sir HARRY and his guard, found it strewn with baggage hastily abandoned by its owners. Here, was to be seen the equipage of an army surgeon, knives and saws and neatly enveloped packages of medicines. There were rain hats, and even sandals. This party of marines and sailors, after wandering about for several hours in search of fugitives, returned to Kobé without having met with any of those they sought.

In the meantime a large party of *Matelots Fusiliers* from the French men-of-war, 200 U. S. marines under

Captains CRIGHTON and ENGLISH, and 300 more men from the Ocean under Captain STANHOPE and Commander TINCKLER, had landed. Sir HARRY PARKES returned, and, by his orders, sentries and pickets were posted at the principal gates in that part of the town where foreigners resided. A breast-work was thrown up by the British in rear of the Custom-house, and another on a bank commanding the main road to Hiogo, each mounting two 24-pound howitzers. The British Consulate was protected by two Armstrong guns. The Americans raised a sand-bag breastwork in an advantageous position, and placed guards with field-pieces at each of the gates.

It has been remarked how very different was the action of Sir HARRY PARKES on this occasion, from that of Colonel NEALE on the occasion of the attack on British subjects in 1862. But the circumstances were totally different. Colonel NEALE had no such force to rely upon for the protection of foreigners as were within reach of Sir HARRY. Besides which it was an object of the British Government in 1862 to avoid war with Japan, if possible. In 1868, all the circumstances were changed. Great international rights had to be maintained; and there were grounds for believing that hostile efforts would be made by some of the clans to prevent the Tycoon from acting up to them. Full powers were conferred upon the foreign representatives, and they were provided with ample forces to resist any hostile action on the part of the daimios. The preceding pages will show that the apprehensions were well founded, and that it was fortunate that everything that the most intelligent foresight could demand had been prepared.

Although the action of the English Minister came thus prominently under notice, the other foreign re-

representatives were not inactive. Everything that lay within their power they did; and there was perfect unanimity between them, as well as throughout the whole foreign community.

The foreign quarters were now in a state of siege. The foreign ministers, whilst the protective measures I have described, were being effected, prepared a declaration to the Japanese officials in these terms :—

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

“To day, as IKEDA ISE and HEIKI TATEWAKI, retainers of MATZ'DAIRA BIZEN-NO-KAMI, were passing through the town of Kobé, their followers without provocation attacked and wounded foreigners with spears and fire-arms. You must immediately come forward and explain this matter. If full reparation be not given it will be assumed that you are the enemy of foreign nations who will take measures to punish this outrage. It must be borne in mind that this matter will then concern not only the Bizen clan, but may cause great trouble to the whole of Japan. This declaration is made by all the Foreign Representatives.

“Hiogo, 4th February, 1868.”

I am not aware to whom this was sent; for on that very day SHIBATA the Governor, and MORIYAMA the Vice-Governor, (the latter of whom had been employed as interpreter when the early treaties were made), with a hundred and eighty officials and attendants, embarked on the chartered steamer Osaka and left for Yedo. On the following day other three notifications issued from the Foreign ministers, one of which announced the capture of all the Japanese steamers in harbour :—

“In consequence of the outrage committed by Bizen's men yesterday, the men-of-war have seized all the steamers owned by Japanese, anchored in the port of Hiogo. This is because, as stated in the declaration of the Foreign Ministers issued yesterday, the affair concerns not only the clan of Bizen but all the clans throughout Japan.

“Hiogo, February 5th, 1868.”

The others merely announced that the Foreign Powers had taken measures for the protection of the place, but assuring townspeople and villagers that they need be under no alarm ; and that all persons, with the exception of men bearing arms or carrying swords, would be allowed to pass freely.

On the 6th, certain emissaries from Satsuma arrived, prepared to make overtures to the Foreign Representatives ; but it was politely intimated to them that none would be treated with unless properly accredited from the Mikado. It was reported that all the Daimios were greatly incensed at the culpable impetuosity of the Bizen men ; and so they might justly be ; for though, doubtless, the attack was not premeditated, yet it revealed but too plainly to foreigners, the real feelings with which they were regarded by the now dominant party.

The Choshu officers issued a notification to the inhabitants, stating that the disturbance did not involve any misfortune to them ; “ and therefore even old people, women and children, need not be frightened.”

Then Consuls circulated the following memorandum :—

Hiogo, 6th February, 1880.

“ In the event of a night attack, all Foreigners who are provided with arms, should rally together with the guard in the Main Street, and be guided by the officer in command of the guard as to their future movements ; those who have no arms should retire to the Concession ground, by the beach.

“ It would be far preferable, however, that they should form an organised body together, and have a separate rallying point on the Concession ground. Should they determine to do so, the undersigned would be ready to assist in the formation thereof.”

(Signed by all the Naval Commanders.)

Each evening since the 4th, the residents had in great numbers resorted to the Custom-house and guard-houses, but, as I had to tell on the occasion of the great

fire in Yokohama, so now again, soldiers and sailors, who had behaved so well whilst active measures were afoot, misconducted themselves sadly when they were off duty. Both foreign and native stores suffered from their depredations. One firm, Messrs. MARKS & Co., whose store was broken into, estimated their loss at \$8,000. A party of American officers, seeing their men unable to withstand the temptation of drink, made a raid on the grog-sellers, and destroyed over two hundred bottles of liquors. The sufferers had been previously warned not to supply the sailors with drink ; so they had none but themselves to blame.

On the 7th, HIGASHI KUZU, an Envoy from the Mikado, visited Hiogo charged with a message from the Sovereign to the Foreign Ministers. He was duly received by them on the 8th, and announced to them officially that the Government of the Mikado had replaced that of the Tycoon. He assured them of the sincere desire of His Imperial Majesty in all respects to uphold and carry out the engagements entered into by the TOKUGAWA, and he so satisfied the Ministers of the efficiency of the new Government to control its subjects and protect foreigners from any further assaults, that, on his retiring, orders were given to put an end to the state of siege, and the seamen and marines returned to their ships. The steamers also that had been taken, were given up to their owners. It was evident that the Government had been taken "all aback" by the display of strength so rapidly exhibited by the foreigners ; and was convinced that it would be henceforth hopeless to resist them, and that the only safe course was to act loyally towards them.

The first result of the conference was the issuing by the Envoy, of an order on behalf of his imperial master, of which the subjoined is a translation :—

" [The Mikado] being of opinion that the question of foreign intercourse is one of the greatest importance, and that [the preservation of] good faith is the foundation [of everything], You must therefore be particularly careful that no rudeness nor lawless conduct is observed towards foreigners by those passing through this place."

(Signed) HIGASHI KUZE-NO-SHOSHO.

To CHOSHII and SATSUMA,
February 8th, 1880."

About one o'clock in the morning of the 8th, six Japanese officers, (one of whom carried two gold embroidered flags, and appeared to be of high rank), accompanied by coolies, attempted to pass through the gate on the main road. The guard turned out, and the terrified coolies took to their heels. A scuffle ensued in which a U. S. marine lost three fingers of his right hand by a sword cut, and a sailor received a sword wound in the face. Most of the party, however, were captured, disarmed, taken to the Custom-house, and examined, through an interpreter, by the foreign ministers. It turned out that they were officers of Tosa, bearing to their prince the two flags, which had been confided to them as presents to their chief from the Mikado. They were therefore allowed to depart.

Shortly after the Envoy left the ministers, a body of Satsuma's men entered the town and took possession of the deserted guard-houses.

On the 10th February, HIGASHI KUZE once more visited Kobé, and had an interview of two hours duration with the Foreign Ministers at the Custom-house. He announced that a Government for Kobé and Hiogo had been arranged. He himself, DATE and the ex-Prince of Uwajima, were at the head of Foreign affairs. Iro SHIUNSKÉ was appointed Governor of Kobé—with four assistants. It will not be forgotten that Iro was one of the two young students who returned from England in

1864, and went to Choshu in an English man-of-war in hopes of averting the battle of Shimonoseki. He is to-day one of the Sangi (Mikado's Councillors).

The Foreign Ministers deserve every credit for the manner in which they acted throughout this very trying crisis. When the result of the first interview with HIGASHI KUZU was known, it was found that they had come to a very practical and definite understanding. The Mikado was—as he always had been theoretically—supreme. The exact nature of his council and government could not yet be stated, as things were in a state of embryo; but Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa were in charge of affairs, and every treaty stipulation and responsibility the Tycoon was under to foreigners would be acknowledged and faithfully carried out by the Mikado. The protection of foreigners at all the Treaty Ports would be guaranteed by the above-named daimios, and the Mikado's officers would replace those of the Tycoon. All the losses of foreigners arising from the acts of the *kerai* of BIZEN should be paid by that prince, and the officer of BIZEN who ordered his men to fire on the foreigners without provocation should pay the penalty of his act by being decapitated.

At the second interview he intimated to the Ministers the Mikado's wish that they should visit him at Kioto; to which they gladly assented.

In anticipation of this visit Dr. WILLIS and Mr. SATOW of H.B.M. Legation went to Kioto, whither the former had been invited by the high officers of Satsuma, to render his assistance in relieving the sufferings of samurai who had been wounded in the recent fight, as he had already done in the case of AMBU's men at Tempusan.

On the 18th February, the Ministers issued notifications to their countrymen announcing that hostilities having commenced "between His Majesty the Mikado and the Tycoon, a strict and impartial neutrality must

be observed " by all foreigners ; and further forbidding them to take any part in the strife, or to supply either side with munitions of war, or even to charter ships for the conveyance of their troops, stores or ammunition.

The same day a party of gentlemen from each Legation went to Osaka to make arrangements for the return of all the embassies to that city.

It consisted of Mr. WILKINSON of the English Legation and Lieut. BRUCE of the 2nd 9th Regiment, Captain HEASLOP R.M.A., Mr. SCHUYER of the U.S. Legation, Midshipman EMORY U.S.N., Mr. HARE of the Prussian Legation, and a gentlemen from the Dutch Legation. They went in H.M.S. Cockchafer, an escort of Choshiu's men accompanying them.

On arriving at Osaka they went to each of the temples that had been appropriated formerly to the Italian, Prussian, American and Dutch legations. These were uninjured ; but everything that had been left in them had been stolen.

The next day, having stayed during the night at a convenient tea-house close by, they visited the site of the French legation. It was a mass of ruins. The different houses within the compound had been all pulled down ; the flooring, the ceiling, and furniture smashed to atoms. With difficulty could they get either in or out.

They then proceeded to the English legation, taking the castle and palace of the ex-Tycoon on their way. Most of the top part of the latter had been burnt, as well as several of the towers ; but they were told that the principal damage was inside, which they were unable to see.

Of the English legation, there was not a vestige remaining—it had been burnt, and every one of its numerous buildings was totally consumed.

The party returned to Kobé the following day, reporting that they had not met with one act of incivility ; and that the late excitement had entirely disappeared.

On the 25th February Mr. SATOW returned from Kioto, having left Dr. WILLIS there.

On the same day, the French Minister returned to Kobé from Yokohama, whither he had followed the Tycoon after his flight, for the purpose of coming to an understanding respecting the various business matters in which the French Government as well as French subjects were interested. His Excellency was attended by four men-of-war, one of them, the Laplace, bearing the flag of the new French naval commander-in-chief, Admiral OHIER.

In the first chapter of this volume I told of the visit paid by Sir HARRY PARKES to DATE TOTOMI-NO-KAMI, Prince of Uwajima ; and particularly mentioned the ex-Prince, brother of the then existing daimio, as being evidently the man who exercised the real power in the clan.

This very able man now came to the front. Having been appointed one of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, he paid a visit to Kobé, and we find him breakfasting with Sir HARRY PARKES. From this time the influences of the British Minister in his support of the Mikado and his government by every peaceful means, had the most marked effect. The other Ministers would have preferred to see the Mikado exercise his newly recovered power through the instrumentality of the Tycoon. They knew, for they had before them so many proofs of, the friendship of the Yedo Government and its chief, towards foreigners ; and they could not have supposed that those who had opposed him on this very account should readily change their tactics, and advise the Mikado to encourage what before they had so vehemently denounced.

Sir HARRY took a firm, determined stand. Hitherto, he argued, all has been confusion. But with one indisputable ruler exercising the sole authority, with whom foreign sovereigns can be in direct communication, the principal obstruction to peaceful intercourse will be overcome. Thus he gave the new Government all the moral support in his power. Rigid in demanding what he conceived to be right, he asked no more. His advice, which was frequently sought, was always impartially given. And his judicious suggestions were largely acted upon.

I have said that his colleagues sympathised more with the ex-Tycoon. So was it, during the whole of 1868, among a large majority of foreign residents of Yokohama. But as it was perceived that the ambitious leaders of the opposition which had led to such unexpected results, were at once by the simple force of circumstances thrust aside, and that the Government fell into the hands of men who were imbued with a more intelligent appreciation of the necessities of the country at large, they were at last reconciled to the new state of things.

The Governor of Nagasaki handed over his charge to Satsuma's officers on the 5th February, at once taking his departure in a chartered steamer for Yedo.

The sentence of death on the officer who was responsible for the outrage that led to such important results, was as follows:—

“HEIKI TATEWAKI, retainer of BIZEN-NO-SHOSHO. On the occasion of your passing through Kobé, weapons were used against foreigners on the pretext that they had broken your ranks; and, in aggravation of this the Americans and French who were trying to escape, and also the Foreign Ministers, were fired upon, nor was any attempt made to arrange the matter there. This is an outrageous and criminal act. The Reformation at present in course of being carried out, causes much anxiety to the Imperial bosom, especially in the case of foreign relations, in which is greatly concerned the

stability of the nation. His Majesty is determined, whilst preserving his own dignity, to act in accordance with the public law of the universe, and to perform those things which are right and proper. To have disregarded this state of things and to have, on the contrary, acted in a way to cause shame to His Majesty, is a flagrant crime which cannot be passed over. The man who gave the order to fire, is therefore condemned to perform *harakiri* in the presence of witnesses of the different nationalities."

The sentence that had been passed on BIZEN's officer was carried out in the temple of Seifuku-ji, where the head quarters of Satsuma had been established at Hiogo. Mr. MITFORD, who was the official witness of the sad ceremony on behalf of the English Legation, has given in the Appendix to his "Tales of old Japan," a concise but very graphic description of the proceedings, to which I am indebted for the following details.

Each of the foreign legations, seven in all, sent one witness. They were shown into a room, adjoining one in which were high Japanese officials. Complete silence was observed, which made the time they had to wait whilst the preparations were going forward, appear doubly long. At length ITO SHIUNSKÉ approached and took down their names, informing them that seven Japanese would also attend as witnesses appointed by the Government. They were himself and another officer as the Mikado's representatives; two officers of Satsuma's infantry, two of Choshu's, and a representative of BIZEN-KAMI, the number corresponding with that of the foreigners.

I will give the rest in Mr. MITFORD's own words :—

"We were invited to follow the Japanese witnesses into the *hondo* or main hall of the temple, where the ceremony was to be performed. It was an imposing scene. A large hall with a high roof supported by dark pillars of wood. From the ceiling hung a profusion of

those huge gilt lamps and ornaments peculiar to Buddhist temples. In front of the high altar, where the floor, covered with beautiful white mats is raised some three or four inches from the ground, was laid a rug of scarlet felt. Tall candles placed at regular intervals gave out a dim mysterious light, just sufficient to let all the proceedings be seen. The seven Japanese took their places on the left of the raised floor, the seven foreigners on the right. No other person was present.

"After an interval of a few minutes of anxious suspense, TAKI ZENZABURŌ, a stalwart man, thirty two years of age, with a noble air, walked into the hall attired in his dress of ceremony, with the peculiar hempen cloth wings which are worn on great occasions. He was accompanied by a *kaishaku* and three officers, who wore the *jim-baori* or war-surcoat with gold tissue facings. The word *kaishaku*, it should be observed is one to which our word *executioner* is no equivalent term. The office is that of a gentleman: in many cases it is performed by a kinsman or friend of the condemned, and the relation between them is rather that of principal and second than that of victim and executioner. In this instance the *kaishaku* was a pupil of TAKI ZENZABURŌ, and was selected by the friends of the latter from among their own number for his skill in swordmanship.

"With the *kaishaku* on his left hand, TAKI ZENZABURŌ advanced slowly toward the Japanese witnesses, and the two bowed before them, then drawing near to the foreigners they saluted us in the same way, perhaps even with more deference: in each case the salutation was ceremoniously returned. Slowly, and with great difficulty, the condemned man mounted on to the raised floor, prostrated himself before the high altar twice, and seated himself—(in Japanese fashion, his knees and toes touching the ground, and his body resting on his heels)—on the felt carpet with his back to the high altar, the *kaishaku* crouching on his left-hand side. One of the three attendant officers then came forward, bearing a stand used in the temples for offerings, on which, wrapped in paper, lay the *wakizashi*, the short sword or dirk of the Japanese, nine inches and a half in length, with a point and edge as sharp as a razor's. This he handed, prostrating himself, to the condemned man, who received

it reverently, raising it with both hands, and placed it in front of himself.

"After another profound obeisance, TAKI ZENZABURŌ, in a voice which betrayed just so much emotion and hesitation as might be expected from a man who is making a painful confession, but with no sign of either in his face or manner, spoke as follows :—

" 'I, and I alone, unwarrantably gave the order to fire on the foreigners at Kobé, and again when they tried to escape. For this crime I disembowel myself, and I beg you who are present, to do me the honour of witnessing the act.'

"Bowling once more, the speaker allowed his upper garments to slip down to his girdle, and remained naked to the waist. Carefully, according to custom, he tucked his sleeves under his knees to prevent his falling backwards; for a noble Japanese gentleman should die falling forwards. Deliberately, with a steady hand, he took the dirk that lay before him; he looked at it wistfully, almost affectionately; for a moment he seemed to collect his thoughts for the last time, and then stabbing himself deeply below the waist on the left-hand side, he drew the dirk slowly across to the right side, and, turning it in the wound, gave a slight cut upwards. During this sickeningly painful operation he never moved a muscle of his face. When he drew out the dirk he leaned forward and stretched out his neck; an expression of pain for the first time crossed his face, but he uttered no sound. At that moment the *kaishaku*, who, still crouching by his side, had been keenly watching his every movement, sprang to his feet, poised his sword for a second in the air; there was a flash, a heavy, ugly thud, a crashing fall; with one blow the head had been severed from the body.

"The *kaishaku* made a low bow, wiped his sword with a piece of paper which he had ready for the purpose, and retired from the raised floor, and the stained dirk was solemnly borne away, a bloody proof of the execution."

It will prove interesting to my readers to learn that the NINNAJI-NO-MIYA, spoken of as Commander-in-chief of the army at the battle of Fushimi, is none other than HIGASHI FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA who is so well known to all

foreigners in Japan. YOSHIAKI-NO-SHINNO—that is, YOSHI-
AKI, relative of the Emperor, was the son of KIMI-IYE-NO-
SHINNO, the 19th successor of the FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA des-
cendants of FUSHIMI TENNO, who reigned from 1288-1298.
He was born on the 11th February 1846, and was con-
sequently 22 years of age in 1868. In 1848 he was
adopted as a son by the reigning Mikado JINKO (or NINKO)
TENNO, and in 1858, at 12 years of age became a Shinno
and a priest.

In 1868 he abjured the priesthood, and his name was
changed to YOSHIAKI. In 1870, he was entitled HIGASHI
FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA. In 1868, we have seen him, as the
representative of the Mikado, entrusted with the Imperial
Banner. Having once tasted the sweets of active exer-
tion, he could not endure to be left behind by the men
who now came forward in the Government. He there-
fore visited Europe, and resided some time in England,
where he was received with distinction by the Queen, the
Royal Family, and the nobility. But he lived quietly
and made good use of his time, devoting it to study and
observation. English readers may remember a Japanese
prince being mentioned among those present, when Her
Majesty went to SAINT PAUL's to offer thanksgiving for
the recovery of the Prince of WALES. This was HIGASHI
FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA.

Shortly after his return to Japan, he sent in an
application to the Emperor to be allowed to serve
his country in a military capacity. His letter was as
follows :—

“To KUNAIKIYO TOKUDAIJI SANEYORI,
from NI'HON HIGASHI FUSHIMI YOSHIAKI ;

“Although I, YOSHIAKI, belong to the imperial family,
and have so far grown up, I have learned nothing
perfectly. I am really sorry to be idle ; and consider
it a crime to continue so.

“I recently travelled in Europe, where I saw all high

noblemen devote themselves to the Navy or the Army from their youth. I feel the utmost shame when I reflect upon this; but I think that if I devote myself to a military life and learn the art of war, I may yet make amends. This therefore is my desire, and I pray you to grant me permission speedily. If I become a soldier, of course I become a combatant and can never receive the treatment of a member of the Imperial family. My mind overflows with this my earnest desire."

Hitherto the Imperial princes, even, in most instances, those who became the heads of great monasteries—such for instance as the UYENO-NO-MIYA, led useless lives which must have often been very burdensome to them.

His request was granted, however, and he speedily rose until he became a general, and was sent to Saga to put down the rebellion there in 1873, as commander-in-chief. Ever since, he has paid the utmost attention to his duties. He may constantly be seen riding in Tokio, on a fine foreign-bred horse, with his groom belted and booted like the groom of an English gentleman riding behind. Whenever the Mikado has any state duties to perform in public, HIGASHI FUSHIMI-NO MIYA is generally by his side; and on some occasions, he has officiated on his Majesty's behalf. In the recent troubles in Kiushiu, he commanded some of the imperial forces—but had not the chief command, that devolving on his relative ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA, assisted by YAMAGATA the chief of the War department, to whom, more than to any other person, is due the efficiency of the Imperial army. All the Imperial family of Japan are popular with foreigners, from the Emperor and the charming little Empress, downwards: but the prince HIGASHI is better known and more frequently seen than the rest. He is most affable without sacrificing an atom of his dignity; and most engaging in manner as becomes one who is every inch a prince.

CHAPTER XVII.

1868.

ANOTHER TRAGEDY.—INTENSE HATRED TO FOREIGNERS.—
THE VICTIMS FRENCHMEN.—ADMIRAL OHIER ORDERS SURVEY
OF COAST BETWEEN OSAKA AND SAKAI.—H. I. M. S. DUPLÉIX
ARRIVES TO MAKE THE SURVEY.—GUESTS OF FRENCH MINISTER
AT OSAKA ATTEMPT TO VISIT SAKAI.—TURNED BACK BY TOSA
SOLDIERS.—STEAM-LAUNCH OF THE DUPLÉIX WAITING AT
SAKAI, ATTACKED BY TOSA MEN, AND MASSACRE OF THE CREW.
—ACTION OF THE CAPTAIN OF THE DUPLÉIX, AND OF THE
FRENCH MINISTER.—THE FUNERAL OF THE VICTIMS.—
DEMANDS OF M. LEON ROCHES ON THE GOVERNMENT : ACCEDED
TO.—DECAPITATION OF THE ASSASSINS.

THE events which culminated in the tragedy described at the close of the last chapter, might be supposed to have been sensational enough ; and the terrible retribution which had fallen on the prime mover in them ought to have served as a warning to all the clans of the danger of assaulting foreigners ; and of the certain punishment that must overtake the perpetrators of any such offence. The ceremony of disembowelment had been performed by TAKI ZENZABURÔ on the night of the 3rd of March. And having finished the relation of this dismal story, I am compelled to commence another, sadder and sadder

still. See how deeply rooted this sentiment of aversion to foreigners must have been. The men of BIZEN had given way to its powerful influences first, and had borne the consequences. And now the clansmen of TOSA—one of the three most prominent and powerful daimios who had upset the Tycoonate—were unable to resist the murderous impulses this inveterate hatred aroused in them.

In this case the victims were Frenchmen.

Admiral OHIER had given orders for a survey of the mouths of the different branches of the Yamato and Aji rivers, as well as the coast between the two. The Aji-kawa is the river at whose embouchure are the terrible bar, and the fort of Temposan, and the Yamato-gawa falls into the sea at Sakai.

Sakai is a large town of about 80,000 inhabitants; only about three miles distant from, and the natural port of, Osaka. Ships anchored there can always, whatever the state of the weather, communicate with the shore. Hitherto all who had gone to Osaka by water had crossed the bar; but the Admiral was of opinion that a safer approach to the city might be found. There are two jetties at Sakai, running for a considerable distance into the sea, which act as breakwaters, and between them a large deep artificial harbour is formed.

In compliance with the Admiral's orders, the Dupleix arrived off Osaka on the morning of the 4th March, and at once the survey of the bar was undertaken. On the 5th, they were able, by the knowledge thus gained, with their steam-launch, to tow the French Minister and his suite, over the bar without inconvenience.

With His Excellency were M. VIAULT, the French vice-Consul at Kobé, and Commandant ROY of the French corvette Venus, who had accompanied him as visitors.

As M. VIAULT and Commandant ROY were desirous of seeing Sakai, a request was sent to the Dupleix, by the

latter to send her steam-launch to meet them there at 8 P.M. on Sunday the 8th March, as it was their intention to walk from Osaka, and embark at Sakai, to return to Kobé.

Accordingly on Sunday morning, having taken leave of the French Minister, the two gentlemen started from the legation at about ten o'clock, escorted by two of Prince UWAJIMA's officers and two officers of Osaka-fu. The road to Sakai is a good hard road, some 25 feet wide, and they traversed it for some distance without hindrance or molestation. At Sumi-yoshi, about half way, they were met and joined by two local officers, who had evidently received orders to attend upon them. After staying awhile to inspect a famous temple at Sumi-yoshi, they proceeded on their way, until they arrived at Yamato-bashi, a long bridge over the Yamato-gawa, which is at this point very wide. The Japanese escort were here addressed by some other officers, but the foreigners not supposing it meant any obstruction to them were passing onward, when their guard asked them to wait a little. M. VIAULT, however, wishing to proceed, some officers came forward from the bridge, where were assembled several armed men with flags. After a short conversation with these officers, the escort strongly urged that the foreigners should retire for a short time into a neighbouring house.

They did as they were requested, and patiently awaited the result of a conference between their guardians and the party at the bridge. After some delay they were told that they could not pass that day, the men on the bridge, who belonged to the prince of Tosa, having fiercely declared that no foreigner should pass.

It was useless their sending any appeal against this hostile decision. They urged the peremptory necessity of meeting the steam-launch at three o'clock. They remonstrated against the obstruction on the ground that

Sakai was specially mentioned in the treaty as a place that might be visited by foreigners. The TOSA men were inexorable ; and the two gentlemen returned to the French legation at Osaka.

But how was it with the launch ? At three o'clock the steam-launch and a whale-boat arrived at Sakai ; the latter went off to continue survey operations, leaving the former to await the coming of M. VIAULT and his companion. Some of the men strolled a little way on shore, giving a portion of the bread they had taken with them for their own meal, to the little children by whom they were met, and finding favour with the elders for their smiling, friendly demeanour. Returning to the boat, others, the boatswain and an engineer, landed, and were walking quietly, as seamen do when waiting near their boats for their officers, when two Japanese samurai accosted them, and, taking them by the arm, appeared desirous of showing them something. They had advanced but a few yards, when the native soldiers raised a shout, and in a moment, about forty of their comrades, all armed, surrounded them. The boatswain thrust aside those who held him, and rushed on board the launch, the assailants following him to the water's edge. The miscreants then levelled their rifles and fired at the launch, killing one of the engineers on board as he was endeavouring to start the engine.

The first-mentioned engineer gained the launch, jumped into it, and was aimed at, but managed to dive into the water and remain hidden between the launch and a native boat for about twenty minutes, during a considerable portion of which the firing continued. At last, finding that it had ceased, and hearing no voices, he looked out from his hiding-place, and perceived that all the assassins had gone—no doubt under the belief that they had killed all the Frenchmen. He climbed

into the launch. All of the crew that had jumped overboard, save himself, were killed. As one poor fellow was clinging to the sea-wall, a villain thrust the muzzle of his rifle against his head, and blew his brains out. Another man's head was so mutilated by means of one of their trident-shaped weapons, as to be almost unrecognizable.

The engineer, the only one unhurt, attempted to set the screw in motion to get away from the land. The steam-pipe had been cut by a bullet and rendered useless. He then called on his poor wounded comrades to try and assist him to get the launch away. One man was shot through both arms: another had his intestines pierced from side to side by a ball: another was shot through the chest, and two were dead. Yet the brave sufferers responded to their comrade's call. They had little hope for themselves—two of them died shortly afterwards—but as well as they could they took to their oars, and managed to get outside the basin, hoist sail and steer for their ship.

The surveying crew, on hearing the firing, made all haste to the assistance of their messmates; but came up only in time to see the finish of the affair. Having no arms but revolvers, the officers hurried off to the Duplex for assistance. Captain DUPETIT THOUARS immediately sent off all his boats fully manned and armed, to the shore. On the way, they met the launch, and, placing sufficient men on board to take the places of the wounded, proceeded on their way to Sakai.

It was a brilliant moon-lit night, when they landed at about midnight. They saw men moving about in the forts, and it was at first the intention to commence an attack upon them. But considering that Commandant ROX and M. VIAULT might possibly be detained either in them or in the town, it was thought better not to make the attack at night, or until it was known that they were in a

place of safety. The boats returned to the ship, therefore, where their crews had the happiness of finding the missing Commandant himself.

The intelligence of this horrible carnage reached M. LEON ROCHES at Osaka, on the evening of the same day, as he was entertaining a number of Government officers at the legation. He rose from table—demanding the immediate delivery of the bodies of the missing seamen. On the morning of Tuesday, the 10th instant, they were sent on board the *Dupleix*, and it proved that ten men and one midshipman had fallen—none but the solitary engineer having escaped.

The funeral of the deceased took place at Kobé on the 11th March. It was even more impressive than that of the drowned Americans had been : for the circumstances attending the death of these men were so much more terrible. Admiral BELL and his companions had been overwhelmed by the power of the mighty elements. It was, so to speak, the act of God. But these men had fallen beneath the weapons of assassins, levelled, through them, at all foreigners. There was no knowing where such crimes might reach, or who should be the next victims. It was indeed a deeply solemn ceremonial ; and when they had been lain in the graves prepared for them side by side with their American brother-warriors of the sea, hardly a dry eye was seen among their old comrades, whose sobs were in some cases audible. Indeed the souls of all present were stirred within them as Captain DUPETIT THOUARS and H.E. the French Minister, addressing the dead, vowed that their deaths should not be unavenged.

How shall I describe the feelings of indignant horror with which foreigners of all nationalities were filled on hearing of this treacherous, cold blooded, and cruel assault upon unarmed, unsuspecting men, who had a few

moments before been showing their good-feeling by sharing their bread with Japanese children.

It was well that consideration for the safety of M. VIAULT and his companion induced the officer of the Dupleix to restrain his men, and overcome his own impulse to make an attack upon the town. It would only have been punishing the innocent for the guilty; and could not have had any good effect whatever. It would have placed his Minister in a false position, and most likely have led to serious complications, which were happily avoided.

But M. LEON ROCHES acted promptly and with great decision. He demanded an apology from the Government on the deck of the Dupleix: also that no Tosa troops should be allowed to enter any of the open ports: that an indemnity of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be paid: that the Government should make a written apology: and that the men who had composed this band of assassins should be decapitated. His demand was peremptory, and was accompanied with the threat, that failing a satisfactory reply within three days, vigorous measures would be taken. The demands were complied with. On the 16th March eighteen Tosa men and two officers were led out to execution, in presence of M. LEON ROCHES and many French officers and seamen. When eleven of them had suffered the penalty—the number of their victims—His Excellency requested that the rest might be spared, which, after some hesitation was acceded to on the part of the Japanese officials.

And thus the curtain dropped on this fell—this abominable—tragedy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1868.

IMPERIAL AMNESTY.—EXCEPTIONS.—YEDO CITIZENS' MANIFESTO.—ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA SETS FORTH FOR YEDO.—TYCOON RESOLUTELY REFUSES TO OPPOSE THE MIKADO.—RETIRES TO UYENO.—APPEALS OF BINNOJI-NO-MIYA, KATSU AWA-NO-KAMI AND OTHERS, THAT THE CITY OF YEDO MIGHT BE SPARED, COMPLIED WITH.—MIKADO'S ENVOY ENTERS YEDO, RECEIVES SUBMISSION OF TOKUGAWA, AND PROCLAIMS THE TERMS ON WHICH THE CITY IS UNMOLESTED.—KEIKI RETIRES TO MITO, AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO SUMPŪ.—EFFECTS TOKUGAWA RETAINERS.—OFFER OF A YEDO MERCHANT ON THE RINNŌJI-NO-MIYA.

I now return to affairs more particularly connected with the ex-Tycoon. On the 8th February (the 15th day 1st month) the Mikado proclaimed an amnesty, on the occasion of his coming of age,—(he was born on the 3rd of November 1852, and was consequently not yet 16 years old),—rebels alone being exempted; and it was declared that it was his Majesty's intention in future to confer rewards and inflict penalties impartially.

Subsequently it was "ordered that YOSHI-NOBU (the

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ex-Tycoon) should be proceeded against, in consequence of his having practised deceit upon the Imperial Court, committing open rebellion and resorting to arms."

AMZU, KUWANA and others, being confederates in the rebellion, were declared traitors and deprived of office and rank.

The feeling in Yedo among the citizens was very strongly in favour of the Tycoon. A document was circulated at the time, I know not by whom written, signed, or acknowledged, but purporting to emanate from the citizens at large. It was thus strongly expressed:—

"Since the Tycoon met with reverses at Osaka, and his subsequent return to this city, it would appear as if he has lost the Government of the South, and consequently that there exist at present in Japan two Governments—North and South. According to the resolution of the Tycoon, he will not declare war against the Mikado—the Mikado being the Tycoon's master—even though he has been strongly urged to do so. But we must all understand that the Mikado is but a boy of indolent character; and, moreover, he is a prisoner in the hands of the revolted Southern daimios. The Tycoon should therefore rescue him from his captivity, and secure his future happiness; and he should never submit to revolt or rebellion. In a word the Tycoon should demand the reality of his position, not in name but in fact. Even though war has been declared by the Mikado himself, the Tycoon has the right to resist, for the following reasons:—

"1st.—As the protector of our power and prestige, which are important for the constitution of Japan. The Mikado has ordered the princes of INSHU and BIZEN to take up arms against the Tycoon, notwithstanding the fact of INSHU being the younger brother of the Tycoon, and BIZEN his relative. The Mikado's Government has also issued similar commands to the daimios TODO and HIKONE, both being ancient retainers of the Tokugawa family. These orders are contrary to our prestige, which the Government should exert itself to maintain; for that being lost, and the supreme power falling to the

southern daimios, we shall relapse into a barbarous and disordered condition.

"2nd.—For the honour of the Tokugawa family, which has now existed for over three centuries. Is its supreme power to be lost in one battle and its hereditary merit and honour to be quite destroyed?

Everyone will say that the Yedo people have no military prestige and that they are afraid of the southern daimios.

What will be said regarding us by foreigners? What will become of the treaties? What will be written in the history of Japan? In every case the Tycoon should declare war, and resist the Kioto schemes.

"3rd.—For the welfare of the Japanese. Everybody knows that Choshiu and Satsuma are not good friends. They are only allied to oppose the Tycoon. Should they succeed in obtaining the supreme power in the name of the Mikado, we may be sure that civil war will break out very soon amongst the allies. We know that the confederates have no power to maintain peace for long.

"4th.—For maintaining the commercial interests both of Japanese and foreigners. Whilst the cities of Hiogo and Osaka are governed by the confederate daimios, no commerce will exist, for the reason that no one will place confidence in the said daimios. For the same reason, in Yokohama, the commercial interests as regards foreigners are at present declining, because the Tycoon will yield that city also to the Mikado. Should the Tycoon decide to oppose his enemies, we trust that commerce would once more increase.

As the representatives of the Yedo people, we now declare for the Tycoon; and advise him to send an army to Osaka as soon as he can. If he decides not to follow our advice, we shall no longer consider ourselves his subjects, but will call ourselves—OLD FRIENDS OF THE TOKUGAWA FAMILY.

In such case we will summons our volunteers, defend this city, and re-occupy the places which have been lost. Briefly, we will show our enemies what we are, and what we can do for the Tokugawa clan."

It will easily be perceived, that, by whomsoever the above was circulated, it was called forth by the submis-

sion of KEIKI. His reason for leaving Osaka he plainly declared to be that he would not raise his hand against the sacred banner. He also issued his commands to all his followers, that they should yield obedience to the Mikado.

ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces destined for the subjugation of the East, divided his army into two, dispatching one by the Tokaido, and the other by the Nakasendo. The Tokugawa retainers in Yedo, implored their old chief to send them to Hakoné, where the pass might be held by a few against any force likely to be brought to oppose them. It was also strongly urged that a naval expedition should be sent against Osaka. The difficulty that was experienced by the imperial army in subduing the few daimio's troops who did oppose them, shows how more than likely it was that success should accompany a full resistance by the Tycoon, supported by all the clans who declared for him. But he was resolute. He would not listen to those who recommended a policy hostile to the Emperor; and calling KATSU AWA-NO-KAMI and OKUBO ICHUO, (both men who have been since heard of under the existing *régime*), he gave them a letter addressed to his followers, strenuously forbidding them to appear in arms, and stating that those who did so would be only turning their swords against himself.

The men who were loyal to him censured him in no measured terms; but finding all their remonstrances fruitless, they combined among themselves, determined that resistance should be offered to the confederate clans; insisting that these were the disloyal, and themselves the loyal, subjects of the Mikado.

Worn out and harassed day and night by those who sought to turn him from his purpose, KEIKI retired from the castle, and took up his abode at Kuanyéji, Uyéno.

This was in accordance with an old custom in Japan ; that when a great man wished to shew his entire submission, under certain circumstances, he would go and take sanctuary, as it were, in the religious house, or monastery of the sect to which he belonged.

Meanwhile the imperial army, marching eastward, entered the hereditary territories of the Tokugawa family, and occupied the castle of Sumpu in Tsuruga ; and a few days later succeeded in forcing the Hakoné pass, without much opposition, and so made their way towards Yedo.

But at Sumpu the RINNOJI-NO-MIYA (the great man alluded to on page 171 of the first volume) accompanied by Kakuwo-in (Gakuo-in, the chief priest under the MIYA and usually his adviser or minister) and others, met ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA, for the purpose of imploring forgiveness for KEIKI, and also to ask that Yedo might be spared from assault. TENSHO-IN and KADZU-MIYA, the widows of the two preceding Tycoons, also sent some of their ladies on a similar errand.

By this time the van of the imperial army, with SAIGO TAKAMORI (KITCHINOSUKE) at its head, reached Shinagawa. Here he was met by KATSU AWA-NO-KAMI, an old friend of his, by whom the absolute submission of KEIKI to the Mikado's will was represented, and a request tendered for the sparing of the city. SAIGO hesitated, but after many interviews with KATSU consented to report the appeal to ARISUGAWA, and after consultation with the generals it was assented to, and the imperialists entered and occupied the city quietly, without any opposition.

On the 4th day of the 4th month (26th April), ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA made his public entry into the city. He was received by the Tokugawa retainers in their ceremonial costume, and conducted to the castle, where TAYASU CHIUNAGON presenting himself and respectfully

bowing before him, the Imperial edicts were read. The life of KEIKI was spared, but he was ordered to repair in retirement to, and keep himself in confinement in, MITO. All who had taken part in the rebellion were to be sentenced to the most severe punishment short of death; and the castle, men-of-war, and all guns and rifles were to be handed over to the Mikado's officers. TAYASU promised obedience, and conveyed the order to KEIKI-sama, who, within three days, left for Mito.

This is the last we see of HITOTSUBASHI, except that shortly afterwards he requested permission to go to Sumpu, where he has ever since resided as a private gentleman.

The vassals of the Tokugawa heard of the terms dictated by the Mikado's representative, with deep indignation. Numbers of them fled to the north-eastern portion of the Empire, to nurse their wrath; hoping, if possible, to strike a blow for the recovery of their cause.

AIDZU had long previously gone to his own territory; and ITAKURA, OGASAWARA and others also secreted themselves in the north-east provinces. All the Fudai daimios now left Yedo; some for Kioto: some for their own territories; and the city once so flourishing, was now solitary as a desert.

It was natural that the merchants and citizens should feel this changed aspect of affairs. It was said that they would have given largely of their substance, to help their chief in his need; and an instance was given of a rich merchant named OMI-YA, who went to the Admiralty office, and vehemently urged the sending a naval force to Osaka. He declared that if the Kaiyo-maru, Eagle, and as many vessels as could be spared were ordered thither, the moment the expedition weighed anchor, he would pay into the treasury 200,000 *rios* (dollars.)

The RINNÔJI-NO-MIYA mentioned in this chapter is none other than the UYENO-NO-MIYA, who in 1862 passed along the Tokaido on the way to Yedo, when foreigners were asked not to use the road until he had passed. My readers will not have forgotten the excitement this caused among the community. It is recorded in 15th chapter of volume 1.

His present name is YOSHIHISA-NO-O; he is the brother of HIGASHI FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA, and himself is usually known as KITA SHIRAKAWA-NO-MIYA. He is one year younger than HIGASHI; and holds a commission as Major in the army.

He was, like his elder brother, adopted by JINKO TENNO. He became RINNÔJI-NO-MIYA in 1858 when he was only 11 years of age. He will be heard of again in connection with the events of 1868; after which he ceased to be a churchman, and ultimately, following his brother's example, became a soldier.

CHAPTER XIX.

1868.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION.—SOSAI, GIJO, SANYO.—THE EIGHT DEPARTMENTS.—RESULTS OF THE DEMEANOUR OF FOREIGN MINISTER AT KOBE.—MEMORIAL OF DAIMIOS TO DAJOKUAN.—THE REPLY.—THE DAIMIOS SET ASIDE.—OKUBO ICHIZO.—HIS MEMORIAL TO THE MIKADO.—ITS RESULT.—FOREIGN MINISTERS VISIT KIOTO.—FANATICAL ATTACK UPON SIR HARRY PARKES AND HIS RETINUE.—DETAILS.—ITS CONSEQUENCES: IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION AGAINST ALL WHO MOLEST FOREIGNERS.—AUDIENCE OF HIS MAJESTY THE MIKADO.—RETURN OF SIR HARRY PARKES TO KOBE.—EXECUTION OF THE ASSAILANTS.—SWORDS PRESENTED BY THE QUEEN TO GOTO SHOJIRO AND NAKAI KOZO.

I WILL now, in as few words as possible, endeavour to describe the plan laid down for the new *régime*, as given in what may be called the *Government Gazette*, of March, 1868. I have not been able to discover who was the actual proposer of this *Gazette*, but most likely it was one of those who had been abroad, and who had seen how foreign Governments publish their edicts. To this day, in Tokio, the *Daijōkuan Nisshi* (lit. Government Daily Record) continues to be published, (not daily, but

containing diary-like information), and distributed to all departments and all the high provincial officers throughout the country. Under the old system no one knew anything of what was going on in the Government, except what was specially notified on the *kosatsu*—boards erected in public places for the Imperial edicts. This, therefore, in itself was an important innovation.

The first issue of it contained details of the CONSTITUTION OF THE MIKADO'S GOVERNMENT. It is lengthy and if given at length would be difficult for readers unaccustomed to Japanese names and titles to comprehend. I only present, therefore, as much as I think necessary to place it clearly before the general reader; and a few further particulars that may give those who are now, or have been recently, in Japan, an introduction to some of the present officials whose names are most familiar to them.

There were to be certain high officers:—

1st SOSAI,
2nd GIJO,
3rd SANYO,

and eight departments, viz.;

The department of the Sosai ;
" " " Shinto religion ;
" " " Home affairs ;
" " " Foreign affairs ;
" " " War ;
" " " Finance ;
" " " Justice ;
" " " Legislation.

The departments are easily understood.

The SANYO, for which Court nobles, daimios, and samurai specially selected by the Mikado, were eligible, were to *assist in the discussion* of business, and *preside over branches* of the several departments. Thus to every department many of the SANYO were appointed, and amongst these will be found most of the men who have since become eminent.

To the Gijo, Princes of the blood (Miya), Court nobles (Kugé), and daimios were eligible; and their duty was to *preside over the several departments, and to consider and decide upon the discussions and recommendations of the SANYO.* To every department, therefore, there were at least two of the Gijo.

Above all was the Sosai, which was an appointment by itself, the holder directing the whole Government, and having the supreme decision in everything. To the rank of Sosai none but Princes of the blood were eligible; but Kugés and daimios were eligible as Fuku-Sosai, (assistant Sosai.)

The decisions of the Gijo were sent to the Sosai, who with the aid of the Fuku-Sosai, and upon the advice of the *kamon* (advisers), gave the Imperial sanction.

Having thus given the general plan of the new constitution, I refer the reader to the Appendix, at the end of this volume, where will be found the names of the original officers who were mainly instrumental in carrying it out.

And now to proceed with my narrative.

The result of the spirited demeanour of the foreign Representatives at Kobé was first seen in some of the events we have recorded; but they were almost immediately followed by an address to the Daijokuan (Government) signed by six of the confederate daimios. It appeared in the Kioto Official Gazette of March, 1868, and here is a translation of it:—

“The undersigned servants of the crown respectfully believe, that from ancient times decisions upon important questions concerning the welfare of the Empire, were arrived at after consideration of the actual political condition and its necessities, and that thus, results were obtained, not of mere temporary brilliancy, but which bore good fruit in all time.

“ At the present time, the throne is but newly occupied, the governing power has just reverted to the Sovereign, old abuses are undergoing reformation, and the people of the Empire are beginning to perceive the necessity of being governed properly. The officers of the court are zealously endeavouring to perform the duty of loyal servants, by assisting His Majesty in governing well at home, and abroad in exalting the Imperial dignity in the eyes of foreign nations.

“ Amongst other pressing duties of the present moment we venture to believe it to be pre-eminently important to set the question of foreign intercourse in a clear light.

“ His Majesty's object in creating the office of administrator of foreign affairs and selection persons to fill it and otherwise exerting himself in that direction, has been to shew the people of his Empire in what light to look on this matter, and we have felt the greatest pleasure in thinking that the imperial glory would now be made to shine forth before all nations.

“ An ancient proverb says that ‘ men's minds resemble each other as little as their faces ; ’ nor have the upper and lower classes been able, up to the present, to hold with confidence a uniform opinion. It gives us some anxiety to feel that perhaps we may be following the bad example of the Chinese, who fancying themselves alone to be great and worthy of respect, and despising foreigners as little better than beasts, have come to suffer defeat at their hands and to have it lorded over themselves by those very foreigners.

“ It appears to us, therefore, after mature reflection, that the most important duty we have at present is for high and low to unite harmoniously in understanding the condition of the age in effecting a national reformation and commencing a great work, and that for this reason it is of the highest necessity that we determine upon the attitude to be observed towards this question.

“ Hitherto the Empire has held itself aloof from other countries and is ignorant of the affairs of the world ; the only object sought has been how to give ourselves the least trouble, and by daily retrograding we are in danger of falling under foreign rule. By travelling to foreign countries and observing what good there is in them, by comparing their daily progress, the universality of

enlightened government, of a sufficiency of military defences, and of abundant food for the people amongst them with our present condition, the causes of prosperity and degeneracy may be plainly traced.

“Of course there must be the great law of punishment and warning but if we can acquire the art of governing them, men from a distance may be made to behave obediently, and there is no reason to punish or warn the unoffending men from afar.

“Subsequently during the period from 1573-1614 the barbarians came frequently to the western provinces and traded there.

“When they neglected to come, they were summoned to do so by the Tai Shogun in writing; and threats were held out, that if they still delayed they would be attacked by large expeditions from this country. After the Shimabara revolt in 1637, the Bakufu ordered the country to be closed; but as the privilege of trading was still permitted to China and Holland it is evident that foreigners were not completely expelled at any time.

“Of late years the question of expelling the barbarians has been constantly agitated and one or two daimios have tried to expel them, but it is unnecessary to prove that this was more than the strength of a single clan could accomplish.

“In past years the Bakufu declared that it would succeed in ten years, but while making these public protestations it was in private only consulting its own interests by a deceitful stratagem; a course of conduct not fit to be mentioned in the same year with the anxious thought given to the subject by the Emperor.

“However in order to restore the fallen fortunes of the Empire and to make the Imperial dignity respected abroad, it is necessary to make a firm resolution, and to get rid of the narrow-minded ideas which have prevailed hitherto.

“We pray that the important personages of the Court will open their eyes and unite with those below them in establishing relations of amity in a single-minded manner: and that our deficiencies being supplied with what foreigners are superior in, an enduring government may be established for future ages. Assist the Emperor in forming his decision wisely and in under-

standing the condition of the Empire; let the foolish argument which has hitherto styled foreigners dogs and goats and barbarians be abandoned; let the Court ceremonies, hitherto imitated from the Chinese be reformed, and the Foreign Representatives be bidden to Court in the manner prescribed by the rules current amongst all nations; and let this be publicly notified throughout the country, so that the countless people may be taught what is the light in which they are to regard this subject. This is our most earnest prayer, presented with all reverence and humility.

(Signed)	ECHIZEN SAISHO.
"	TOSA SAKI-NO-SHOSHO.
"	NAGATO SHOSHO.
"	SATSUMA SHOSHO.
"	AKI SHIN SHOSHO.
"	HOSOKAWA UKIO DAIBU.

February 29th, 1868."

It has been explained that the daimios, except in exceptional cases, did not act for themselves. This was therefore sent in by those whose signatures or seals were attached; but as it was *infra dig.* for them to take part in the details of public affairs, men of ability from among their *kerai* or retainers, were appointed to such duties, under the title of Hanji, and these were in reality the men who pulled the strings. It is easy to see who were the true authors of the above memorial.

And this was the answer:—

"Intercourse with foreign countries commencing in the reigns of Shiu-jin and Chui-ai (97 B.C.—30 B.C. and 192 A.D.—200 A.D.) flourished more and more year after year. Many foreigners of near and distant countries, became naturalized and tribute was paid. Subsequently envoys passed constantly between this country and China or went to reside there, and our mutual relations became naturally friendly. At that time no great advance in the art of navigation had been made, and our intercourse was restricted to Corea, China and other adjacent countries. To say nothing of Western nations, the position of India even was not clearly

defined. But of late years, as the Japanese nation is aware, the art of navigation has been brought to perfection, and the most distant countries have been brought into closest intercourse.

"The stipulations of the treaties, which the Imperial Government has become responsible for by what may be called an error in judgment of the Bakufu, may be reformed if found to be hurtful, but the public laws observed by all nations forbid wanton disturbance of those arrangements as a whole, and it would be a great misfortune for the Imperial Court to break faith with foreign nations by now altering those engagements. The Imperial Government feels itself therefore compelled to entertain amicable relations under the treaties concluded by the Bakufu.

"This having been already notified to foreign nations, it becomes also necessary to adopt such measures as the ancient constitution of the Empire and the public law of the world may conjointly suggest. Consequently it has been decreed that the Foreign Representatives should enter Kioto and attend at Court, the memorial of ECHIZEN SAISHO and the others being adopted as a basis, and a mean between the good customs of ancient times, and the practice of international intercourse in modern ages being arrived at after open discussion by the officers of the Court and the clans.

"'Punishment and warning' is a just principle of great antiquity, and it may happen that unavoidable wars may arise amongst different countries on account of wrongs committed, in spite of the bonds of friendship which exist. Such examples are numerous, and we must make up our minds to be ready for defensive and offensive wars, but in spite of this, amicable relations between this empire and foreign countries commenced under the last reign by the Imperial consent being given to the opening of the Ports. At that time the Bakufu, having been entrusted with the governing power, all matters concerning foreign intercourse were dealt with by it, but a reformation having been effected by which the monarchical form of Government is restored and power is vested in the Imperial Court, it follows as a matter of course that foreign affairs should be managed by the Imperial Government.

"At present in this new state of things, the SOSAI and other officers are responsible for every measure, and it is our desire to fill our high offices as worthily as our limited capacities will enable us. In a time of great and extraordinary difficulty, we have humbly and diligently considered the question, and it has been so decided, on our reporting to his Majesty the fair and open opinion of the Empire.

"In the present and undecided state of our internal affairs, we have this important question of foreign relations to deal with. We desire therefore that the whole empire uniting its strength will serve the Sovereign diligently, and argue with us clearly and advise us stringently and without hesitation, not only upon foreign affairs, but also on all other public business as well. What is of most importance is that people will open their eyes to the present state of affairs and rid themselves of degenerate old habits; will cause the Imperial virtues to shine forth to all nations and render the Empire as firm as a rock, and thus please the spirits of departed sages now in heaven. Let high and low respectfully observe these words.

(Signed),

The three officers of
the *Daijô-kuan*,
(Government.)

"10th March, 1868."

Among the men who now come to the front, it is remarkable how few were of high birth, or had any hereditary recommendations. With the exception of UWAJIMA, ECHIZEN, AKIDZUKI, NABESHIMA, AKI, TODA YAMATO-NO-KAMI, and HOSOKAWA almost all of the daimios were thrust aside; and men of brains, bravery, and resolution rose to the surface, and guided the young Emperor in the course, which, whilst it has given him a truly Imperial sway, has placed his empire in a favorable position among the nations of the universe.

Towards this end no single man did more than OKUBO ICHIZO (TOSHIMICHI.) He was a samurai of the Satsuma clan of no special hereditary rank; but he was

a man of rare ability, who had not only acquired credit as a student of Chinese literature, but had also attained a good general knowledge of the affairs of the outer world. He had been named by Satsuma as one of the Hanji; and no one was more struck than he, with the action of the foreign ministers at Kobé. He took in the whole situation at a glance; he saw that foreigners must be made the friends, not the enemies, of Japan. He perceived that should they be forced to unsheath the sword, the party whose cause they espoused must prevail. From this moment he bent all his energies to secure their friendship for his sovereign and the new government. He found in the *kamon* of Sosai, and in the *hanji*, cordial coadjutors in attaining this end, and by their means, principally, the opinions of men long violently hostile to foreigners were changed, and a really new era commenced.

OKUBO was the first to make a plain and definite proposal, dealing with the position of the Mikado. It was a bold thing to do. Many a man of far higher rank than he, had in the days of the Tyconate been obliged to perform *harakiri* for less startling propositions. My readers will remember the case of the Governor of Yedo, who was ordered to disembowel himself for giving his opinion at a council of daimios, he not being a daimio. The account will be found page 67 of the first volume. OKUBO was of very inferior grade to him, and he gave his opinion to a very much higher personage. That opinion was that the sovereign should be an active ruler of his empire, no longer isolated and immured within the precincts of the *Dairi*, and that the seat of Government should be removed from Kioto.

MEMORIAL OF OKUBO ICHIZO OF THE SATSUMA CLAN.

"Such a great revolution as the present has never taken place since the creation of Japan. How can it be

judged of by ordinary rules? In a single battle the Government forces have gained a victory and the chief rebel has fled eastward, but his lurking place is not yet conquered. Laws which shall ensure amicable relations with foreign countries have still to be framed. The clans are in a state of alienation and insubordination, and the attitude they shall assume is yet a matter of uncertainty. Men's minds are unsettled and the public business is in a state of confusion. The great work of restoring the ancient constitution is only half accomplished; it may be said that it has only just commenced. If the Imperial Court seek only a temporary advantage instead of insuring permanent tranquility, we shall have a repetition of the old thing, like the rise of the ASHIKAGA after the destruction of the Hojo. A getting rid of one traitor only to have another spring up.

"The most pressing of your Majesty's pressing duties at the present moment is not to look at the Empire only, and judge carelessly by appearances, but to consider carefully the actual state of the whole world, to reform the inveterate and slothful habits induced during several hundred years, and to give union to the nation, so that the whole Empire shall be moved to tears of gratitude, and both high and low appreciate the blessing of having a Sovereign in whom they can place their trust.

"Hitherto the person whom we designate the Sovereign has lived behind a screen, and, as if he were different from other human beings, has not been seen by more than a very limited number of Kugé; and as his heaven-conferred office of father to his people has been thereby unfulfilled, it is necessary that his office should be ascertained in accordance with this fundamental principle and then the laws governing internal affairs may be established.

"In order to accomplish a great reformation by the lights of this principle, it is necessary that the capital be moved. To proceed to prove this; degenerate customs are not matters of reason but of feeling, and feeling depends upon conventional phrases. To instance one or two of these constitutional phrases, the residence of the Sovereign is called "above the clouds," his nobles are styled "men of the region above the clouds," his face is compared to a 'dragon's countenance,' as some-

thing not easily to be seen, and his 'gem-like person' is spoken of by excess of respect as something which must not touch the earth; so that he begins to think himself a more honourable and illustrious being than he is, until high and low being alienated from him his condition comes to be as miserable as it now is. No argument is required to prove that respect for superiors and kindness to inferiors is the great bond of human society, but if the former be carried to an excess, the end is that both Prince and subject forget their duties to each other. The praise accorded to the Emperor NINTOKU arises from this: and the Sovereigns of other countries who walk about with only one or two attendants to look after the interests of their subjects, may truly be said to discharge the duties of Princes.

"In the present period of reformation and restoration of the Government to its ancient monarchical form, the way to carry out the resolution of imitating the example of Japanese sages and of surpassing the excellent Government of foreign nations is to change the site of the capital.

"Unless your Majesty takes advantage of the present opportunity and adopts an easy and convenient means of clearing away old abuses, unless you discharge the princely duty conferred on you by heaven of being the father of your people, and establish universally such a system that the whole Empire shall tremble and obey your commands, it will be impossible to make the Imperial glory shine beyond the seas or to take rank amongst the nations of the Earth.

"Osaka is the fittest place for the capital to be removed to. A temporary palace can be fixed upon, the form of Government take a distinct shape and great things will be accomplished. For the conduct of foreign relations, for enriching the country and strengthening its Military Powers, for adopting successful means of offence and defence, for establishing an army and navy, the place is peculiarly fitted by its position. But I will not urge more here, for the different departments will have their arguments to advance also.

"This question seems to be the pivot on which our domestic affairs turn, and I think it is one which calls for instant decision. Should this plan be carried out the basis of our internal Government will have been

established. Should the capital be removed to some other place than Osaka, through anxiety lest some little difficulties should arise, a great opportunity will have been lost and the Empire be deprived of a valuable advantage.

"I most humbly pray your Majesty to open your eyes and make this reform, and to set forth upon the journey without loss of time. Capital punishment should not deter me from making this petition.

OKUBO ICHIZO."

"This memorial produced a lively effect upon the Court, and to the advice contained in it the subsequent removal of the Mikado to Yedo was no doubt due."

Reverting to the foreign ministers whom I left at Kobé and Osaka, where they were awaiting further arrangements for their audience of the Mikado:—On the 18th March Sir HARRY PARKES and M. DE GRAEFF VON POLESBROECK, with their suites, left Kobé for Kioto; ITO SHUNSKÉ the Governor of Kobé accompanying them. M. LEON ROCHES started a day or two later. On the 23rd of March the French and Dutch Ministers had their audience, which passed off satisfactorily.

But the spirit of fanaticism could not be suppressed. The English Minister was to have been received on the same day; but this was prevented by a desperate attack upon him and his retinue as he passed through the streets on his way to the *Dairi*. It serves as one more straw to show which way the wind blew. Many accounts have been given of this occurrence; but I think that time has shown the following to be the most correct.

At the appointed hour, the procession left the temple which had been appropriated to His Excellency, in this order:—First came the Mounted Escort, at the head of whom rode their Inspector, accompanied by NAKAI Kozo, an officer of the Mikado, formerly belonging to the Satsuma clan. These were followed by Sir HARRY PARKES

by whose side rode GOTO SHOJIRO, who has been previously mentioned, and who was now attached to the SOSAI Department. Mr. SATOW also attended Sir HARRY. Then came the detachment of H.M. 2nd 9th, under Lieutenants BRADSHAW and BRUCE; and Mr. MITFORD, having no horse, brought up the rear in a *norimon*. By great good fortune, Dr. WILLIS of the legation, and Drs. PURVES and RIDINGS R.N., the latter of whom had been permitted to join the legation party as guests, had followed to see the procession enter the palace.

The procession had not gone far, and was quietly wending its way through the streets, without a thought of danger, when suddenly, as it turned a certain angle, armed Japanese sprang out of the houses on both sides, and commenced slashing indiscriminately with their swords all the cortège within their reach. Such was the rapidity with which they laid about with their weapons, that the Escort, entirely taken by surprise, had no time to use their lances. Indeed in such a narrow street, it would have been difficult under any circumstances. The horses and men were wounded—some most terribly—before anything could be done to meet the attack. NAKAI Kozo was the first to leap from his horse, and engage one of the assailants; but stumbling, he fell, and received a nasty cut in the head. Some of the ruffians now fled, but two remained, and rushed madly down the line, cutting and hewing desperately.

As yet—for this is all the work of a few seconds—the Minister and rear of the party had not turned the corner; but, hearing the scuffle, GOTO, dismounting, flew to the front, and rescued NAKAI from his perilous position. The assailant made a rush and aimed a blow at Sir HARRY, and how he escaped is inexplicable; for the betto who was close to his horse's head was wounded, and Mr. SATOW's horse by the same backwards

and forwards stroke cut in two places; he tumbled forward, however, in delivering the blow, and Goro with one fell swoop of his sword severed his head from his body ere he could recover himself. It is thought that a bullet from Lieut. BRADSHAW's revolver was the real cause of the man falling forward.

The other man continued the attack, springing about like a wild beast, and still wildly slashing about him, until he was forced to take refuge in a back yard of one of the nearest houses, where he was captured after having received several wounds from lances, bayonets, swords and pistols.

The desperate character of the attack may be gathered from the fact that nine out of eleven men of the Escort, and one man of the 9th, besides the betto and four horses, were wounded, most of them severely.

Years after, Goro himself told me that nothing at the time raised the character of Sir HARRY PARKES in the estimation of the Japanese, so much as his demeanour on this occasion. He showed no signs of fear or even disturbance. Directly he saw what was going on, he called to his men to be calm and on no account to exhibit any excitement. He then deliberately gave the order to turn back to the temple, which was only a few hundred yards distant. They had heard of his intrepid conduct in China. They now recognised what a fearless man he was.

As a matter of course there was no interview with His Imperial Majesty that day. It was necessary to see to the wounded men; all of whom, without exception, had obeyed their minister's command, and behaved with perfect steadiness. From some, however, the blood was flowing in such currents, that, faint and powerless, they could not keep their saddles. The doctors did all they could to staunch the sanguinary streams; and coolies

having been with some difficulty obtained, these poor fellows were placed on shutters and conveyed to the temple. The others who could retain their seats insisted on doing so, and pluckily rode home. As for the prisoner he was carried to the same destination.

All the wounded, including the prisoner, having been duly attended to, a preliminary examination of the latter took place.

At first he declared that he had no accomplices ; that he was originally a priest belonging to a temple near Osaka ; and that he had come to Kioto to enlist in the *Shimpei*, (personal guards of His Majesty, but at that time being recruited from the ronins and others, for whom the Government was desirous of finding employment and means of livelihood). Afterwards he admitted having one accomplice, with whom he had set out with the intention of attacking foreigners. On being shown the head of the man who was slain by Goro, he recognized it as being that of the accomplice alluded to. On enquiry he said he had never seen foreigners before. At a third examination he confessed to having three more confederates ; and these men were ultimately taken into custody.

The Mikado and the Government evinced the most genuine sorrow on this occasion. His Majesty sent a message of condolence the same evening to the Minister, and several daimios and members of the Court called in person at the legation, some of them visiting the wounded men.

His Excellency suggested that this was a fitting occasion for making it known once for all throughout the Empire, that His Majesty absolutely forbade and discountenanced such acts. The ready response proved the sincerity of the Emperor. Without a day's delay a proclamation was issued, and sent to every province. It

declared that the Mikado regarded such attacks as infamous and detestable ; and that samurai who were guilty of such crimes would be henceforth degraded, their swords taken from them and their dishonoured names be erased from the rolls of samurai. That further, they should be beheaded by the common executioner, and their heads be exposed for three days.

This Imperial proclamation has had the desired effect. There have been isolated attacks on foreigners since, but they have been rare ; and more seldom still from political hatred. That this feeling had hitherto prevailed I have abundantly demonstrated. That it was so in the instance described above, was admitted by the prisoner ; who afterwards, when he found himself treated with gentleness by those whom he had hoped to kill, expressed the deepest contrition and shame, for a crime which hitherto he had regarded as an act of piety.

The Mikado having given such prompt and convincing proof of his regret for this unfortunate occurrence, a second day was named for the audience. The 26th April (3rd day of 3rd month) an auspicious day, was chosen, and all passed off well. Such precautions had been taken, that had any design existed for an attack it would have been impossible.

His Majesty personally expressed to Sir HARRY his horror at the attack that had been made upon him ; and the Minister was altogether much gratified with his reception.

On the 29th, the Legation left Kioto. The wounded men were conveyed in litters to Fushimi, which were there placed in boats, to be conveyed down the Ajikawa to H. M. S. Adventure off Osaka.

At Fushimi Sir HARRY PARKES was met by a high officer of the Court, who had been sent to announce to

him that the prisoner had been executed that morning, and that the heads of both the men were exposed publicly. The degree of complicity of the three accomplices had not yet been satisfactorily ascertained; consequently their sentences had not yet been recorded.

It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that the Queen, on hearing of this assault, and of the courageous behaviour of GOTO SHOJIRO sent him a very valuable sword, with an inscription on the blade:—"From Victoria, Queen of England, to GOTO SHOJIRO, in remembrance of the 23rd March, 1868." One was sent, also, to NAKAI KOZO, most likely bearing a similar inscription; but this I have not seen. Even though old things have passed away, and all things have become new, I believe that no more acceptable present could be made to Japanese samurai than such as were thus sent; and I know that these swords are highly prized by the recipients.

CHAPTER XX.

1868.

RETURN OF MINISTERS FROM THE INLAND SEA.—OPENING OF YEDO POSTPONED.—PRECAUTIONS IN YOKOHAMA AGAINST ATTACK.—ARRIVAL OF H.M. 10TH REGIMENT.—THE EMPEROR'S OATH.—EMPEROR VISITS OSAKA.—REVIEW OF THE FLEET.—ARRIVAL OF THE IRONCLAD RAM "STONEWALL."—DETAINED BY THE U. S. MINISTER TO AVOID INFRACTION OF NEUTRALITY.—THE PROCESSION OF THE MIKADO ON HIS RETURN TO KIOTO.

By the end of March 1868, all the Ministers had returned from the Inland Sea ports to Yokohama. General expectation looked for the opening of Yedo for foreign residence on the 1st of April; but the threatening attitude of affairs there suggested caution; and the foreign representatives unanimously, and wisely, resolved to defer this long-hoped-for event until a more peaceful occasion. They had enough to do in attending to the safety of their countrymen in Yokohama. Apart from the wars and rumours of wars, which were prevalent, there were apprehensions of danger from a number of vile-looking fellows, who, wearing two swords and claiming, no doubt rightfully, the rank of samurai, visited the settlement in such numbers as to

be alarming. The Japanese officials had given warning of suspicious bands of ronins being at hand, and by their wish, guards of the various nationalities having armed men within reach, were placed at all approaches to the settlement, and paraded its streets every night. Every two-sworded man who had not a pass from the Governor of Kanagawa was driven out of the settlement; and none were permitted to enter without such a document.

For many a day the gate which stood on the Nogé side of what is now the Iron bridge, had a couple of Gatling guns in front of the Japanese guard-house there established. These were now removed, and all the native guard houses from that one to Kanagawa were deserted by their old occupants. A company of the 2nd batt. 9th Regiment was encamped under canvas as far away as the entrance to Kanagawa; American Marines occupied the American Naval yard on allotment 112 on the Creek-side, and every precaution was adopted by the naval and military authorities, in case of any of the troops who were approaching Yedo, or any ronins or armed men whatsoever, attempting to make a hostile descent upon us.

As a simple matter of fact, I do not believe that a single individual amongst us felt any real expectation of an assault by any native force. The native officials warned us; and it would have been injudicious to have disregarded their warning. The very strong force we had at hand operated most beneficially for the country now, as it had done from its first arrival. Its mere presence sufficed to keep would-be invaders at a distance, and so prevented any embroilment on their account. The Tycoon's Government thoroughly appreciated this service.

The 1st Battalion of H.B.M. 10th Regiment arrived in

H.M.S. Tamar on the 4th April, to relieve the 2nd Batt. 9th Regiment.

On the establishment of the new Constitution the Castle of Nijō, recently evacuated by the ex-Tycoon, was converted into Government offices, and here the Daijokuan (council of state) held its meetings. Hither came the Emperor, and before all the nobles and officials of eminence he took an oath by which he swore that he would govern constitutionally; that there should be a deliberative assembly for the consideration of all public questions; that civilisation and justice should take the place of the old and erroneous system; and that learning should be encouraged, in order that the foundations of the empire might be solid and firm.

This is the oath which the agitators of the present day declare has never been fulfilled; and on which they demand that an elective representative assembly shall be formed.

On the 15th April His Majesty the Mikado arrived at Osaka in accordance with the proposition of his councillors. Up to this period he had probably never seen a green field. Born in the palace, he was kept strictly within its domain, and there he had remained, only being removed to another equally secluded residence a short distance from it, when it was destroyed by fire, and until it was rebuilt. Outside of Kioto he had never been; and to a lad sixteen of age, of some spirit and intelligence, (which he has shown himself to possess), it must have been a great pleasure to see something of the beauties of nature, and the active life of men in town and country. Even now he was not allowed to gaze upon them freely, nor was the eye of any loyal or curious subject permitted to fall upon him. In a *norimon* of exquisite finish—made of

the purest *kiri* (*Paulownia Imperialis*), without an atom of either paint or varnish—he sat. Fine bamboo blinds, divided him from the world, allowing him to see without being seen. It would be interesting to know what were the feelings of the young monarch under such circumstances.

It is worthy of note, how gradually he is allowed to show himself to the people. When the natives in Yedo and Yokohama heard that he had granted an interview to foreign ministers, they declared that it was simply impossible. He had never been seen except by a few of his more immediate family and attendants; and even by his courtiers his face was never seen; a screen falling between him and them, concealing the upper portion of his body. As regards these, it is to be inferred, from what has already been told, that this extreme seclusion had been in some degree broken through; and that many daimios and councillors had been admitted to the sacred presence. But now such innovations were to be made as had not been heard of for centuries; and care had to be taken that whilst the descendant of the gods resumed control of mundane affairs, he did not lose his deity-like character in the estimation of his subjects. They were for the first time for many generations allowed to feel the effulgence of his actual presence among them, but they must not yet rejoice in the light of his countenance; and so we see him leave his ancient seat of gilded imprisonment, and wend his way to the great commercial centre of his empire. About a fourth of the city was barricaded; and as to foreigners, they were advised not to go to Osaka during his visit, which was expected to last three weeks.

In the procession of His Imperial Majesty from Kioto, seven daimios and their retainers, the latter amounting to not less than 10,000 men, were said to have formed the escort.

So far as could be seen, the real object of the Mikado's visit was a review of the Imperial fleet. Let no one despise the day of small beginnings. His fleet was indeed but small at this time. The ships of the TOKUGAWA had not been handed over, although it was one of the stipulations of ARISUGAWA, in sparing Yedo, that they should be. Before long I shall have to tell what became of it. The fleet that was to be visited and reviewed by His Majesty consisted of six vessels, belonging to daimios—namely, the Cosmopolite belonging to HOSOKAWA; the Chusan, CHOSHII; Otentosama, CHOSHII; a gunboat belonging to NABESHIMA (Hizen); the Gerard, SATSUMA; and the Coquette, KURUME. Still, small as it was, it served its purpose; and this being the first occasion on which His Majesty had ever come out of his shell—or seen the sea that bounds his myriad-island empire—it will not be ill-placed if I give an account of the scene.

It was on a pleasant afternoon in April. The banks of the Ajikawa were lined the whole distance from the place of embarkation—for the Mikado was to go from the palace by water—with masses of the people, such as had probably never before been gathered in Osaka. With the exception of passenger boats, all traffic on the river had been stopped. Here and there were moored some state barges belonging to daimios; but the thoroughfare amid-stream was left clear. Most of the spectators had taken up their positions by 8 o'clock in the morning, although it was known that His Majesty was not to be at Temposan Fort before noon.

Punctually at noon a signal was run up on the Fort, announcing to the fleet the Emperor's arrival. In an instant the Imperial *shirushi* (the chrysanthemum flag) was run up at the main of the six above-mentioned steamers; and the Hizen gunboat fired a salute of twenty-one guns. Directly the gunboat fired its first

gun, the Dupleix dressed ship, and, according to an ancient French custom, fired a salvo of three times the whole battery of the ship—which was twelve guns. The courtesy was acknowledged by the gunboat, the French flag being run up, and thirty-six guns being fired.

The steamers were now set in motion. They bore up for the fort, one of them rounding the Dupleix. They then shaped a course down the bay, and proceeding for a distance of three or four miles returned in single file. On nearing the anchorage they closed up in double file, and came very prettily to their original berths.

On a signal being made that the Mikado was about to leave the fort, the Dupleix again ran up the national flag, and fired a salute of twenty-one guns. At the close, the prince of Hizen visited the Dupleix, and thanked the Captain for having thus honoured his sovereign.

As I have henceforth to tell of no more political attacks upon foreigners, an incident that happened on the day of the review is worth recording, as an evidence that the Imperial proclamation had some effect.

Three foreigners were passing through the streets of Osaka, when they were met by a large procession of armed men. Two of them moved quickly to the side of the road. The third had been gazing backwards in the middle of the road, at something in the rear, and had not noticed the movement of his friends. Turning to continue his way, he found himself actually close up, face to face, with the leading files of the procession, which halted immediately, in obedience to a whistle that had an ominous sound to the foreigners—especially to the two who had passed on, not observing that their friend was not with them. However, two officers stepped out of the ranks, and, with polite gesture, conducted the gentleman to the rear of the procession, placed him safely with his companions, and left him with a bow.

As regards the Imperial fleet, a remarkable circumstance, arising from the doubts in the minds of Ministers as to who should ultimately hold the power under the Mikado, those who called themselves the *kuangun*—(imperial army), or those who fought for the Tokugawa ascendancy, under the title of *shogitai*, (the loyalty-exhibiting band—upholders of the right.)

On the 24th April, the ironclad ram, which had been long expected from the United States, arrived. The money paid by the Tycoon's Government (\$600,000) to Mr. PRUYN, the U. S. Minister, for the purchase of men-of-war in America, had only found fruition in the Fusi-yama, a wooden corvette, with which the Japanese were anything but pleased. As nothing else came forward, commissioners were sent to make enquiries of the Government at Washington respecting the balance. The result was that the United States Government handed over to them in New York, the ram Stonewall, which had been taken from the confederates in the war. She was made over to the commissioners: left New York flying the Japanese ensign: and was, one should think, to all intents and purposes a Japanese ship; the Tycoon having paid for her five years before. Some officers of the U.S. Navy were, however, lent, to navigate her to her destination; for which they were to be paid by the Japanese Government. She came round Cape Horn, and put in at Honolulu, short of supplies and funds; and the Hawaiian Government made the necessary advances—not to America, but—as an act of friendship to Japan. She arrived in Yokohama harbour flying the Japanese flag—when—to the surprise of all, natives and foreigners alike, the Japanese ensign was hauled down, and the Stars and Stripes run up in its place. Both the parties now at strife claimed her, and each requested that she should not be handed over to the other. General VAN VALKEN-

BURGH, the U.S. Minister, came to the conclusion that to hand her over to either would be an infringement of neutrality; and she lay in the harbour—under the command of the U.S. officers, who were to receive their pay from whomsoever she was ultimately delivered to—for several months, until the Kuangun party was indisputably triumphant.

The return of the Mikado to Kioto was effected in precisely the same order as his arrival. Thus,

A mounted Kugé followed by troops four deep led the way. The dresses of these soldiers were such as can never be forgotten. Each man seemed to be clad as he liked best; and thus the entire body presented all the colours of the rainbow. But the head-gear was the most striking, the variety being infinite. Some wore black cone-shaped coverings, like basins; some, Chinese winter felt hats; others, lacquered plaited, the shape of which might be likened to a broken-ribbed umbrella; some had French, other British Naval, caps; some assimilated to the Australian digger's slouch; whilst many wore a shaggy mass of hair, like a lion's mane, except that it was jet black. There were a few ponderous iron helmets: others of light bamboo or lacquered paper; whilst some had their heads bound round with a white cloth tied in a knot at the back of the head. From this it may be conceived what a harlequin appearance they had.

These were followed by another Kugé—his dress of divers colours and very rich. Next came the daimios, with their men all armed with foreign rifles, but also carrying their two swords. Among these were several bands of drums and fifes. These troops formed a marked contrast to the others. They were almost all dressed in black camlet suits with brass buttons—and each wore his chief's *mon* or crest.

These having passed, the silence became most profound. A high crimson silk canopy approached, upborne on four long wooden poles carried shoulder high by many stalwart men. Under the canopy was a *norimon*, and it was surmounted by the sacred Phoenix; but the great presence was not within. As it came near, a curious faint clapping of hands broke the silence. The Japanese when they worship put their palms together as is customary with many Europeans, but they commence by clapping them together two or three times, and then rubbing them together gently. So now this clapping was from the people preparing to worship the sacred Banner as it passed them. It was followed by about a score of Kugé on horseback, with attendants but no samurai; and these by a similar number on foot. After them came the plain white-wood chair in which was carried the MIKADO. The bamboo blinds being down, it was impossible to make out anything more than that there was the form of a human being inside.

More Kugé; a quantity of baggage; and numerous soldiers brought up the rear. And it was curious to see and hear, the effect of the crowds—who had maintained such a dead silence while crouching on their marrow-bones—rising to life and speech as the procession passed on its way.

CHAPTER XXI.

1868.

OHARA SAKI-NO-JIJU ARRIVES ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.—PETITION OF TOKUGAWA ARMY AND NAVY, AS TO THE TERMS IMPOSED ON KEIKI.—THE MEN-OF-WAR REMOVE FROM YEDO.—LETTER OF YENOMOTO.—ANNOYANCE OF THE IMPERIALISTS, AND LETTER TO TAYASU.—AIDZU'S MEN AND OTHERS FORM BANDS TO OPPOSE THE KUANGUN.—OTORI KEIS'KE AT UTSUNOMIYA.—THE COURAGE OF BOTH PARTIES, AND SPIRIT OF THEIR LEADERS.—SANJO ARRIVES IN YEDO.—KAMENOSUKE MADE THE HEAD OF TOKUGAWA FAMILY.—THE "SHOGITAI."—RINNOJI-NO-MIYA.—BATTLE AT UYENO.

ON the 18th April, there arrived in Yokohama from Kyoto, O HARA SAKI-NO-JIJU—(O HARA, late imperial page), a Kugé, of whom it was stated that he came on naval affairs. He had lengthened interviews with the French and English Ministers at their legations ; but the nature of his communications did not transpire.

The conditions on which Yedo was spared by the imperial army (on the 27th April) were committed to TAYASU to carry out ; but it should seem that, hard as all of them were, the second—that " the castle be evacuated and delivered over to the OWARI clan ;"—and the third

which provided for the handing over the ships of war, were especially distasteful, and led immediately to the following petition :—

“ PETITION presented by the Naval and Military forces of the TOKUGAWA family.

“ We petition that, as soon as the successor of the Tokugawa clan is appointed, the castle may be temporarily entrusted to the charge of TOKUGAWA KAMENOSKE. Although it is great presumption on our part to do so, we beg His Majesty to bestow on us the boon of not making the OWARI family successors to the TOKUGAWA.

“ With respect to men-of-war and military weapons, we beg that these may be retained until His Majesty re-establishes the TOKUGAWA family, and the revenue and territory are settled, and that a suitable proportion being then retained, the remainder may be surrendered.

“ We petition that you will use your influence to procure for us by a special exercise of His Majesty's clemency the acceptance of these two clauses. We are aware that thus venturing, guilty as we are, to prefer these petitions, we may be incurring the Imperial anger, and disobeying the wishes of our chief, KEIKI ; but at such a time as this, to regard a few years of life more than eternal disgrace, and to obey the order with resentment in our hearts, would be for both army and navy to have left the duties of retainers unfulfilled. We therefore humbly beg that you will condescend to appreciate these feelings of us all, and kindly assist us in causing them to have effect (with higher authorities). We humbly and respectfully present this petition.

(Signed)

THE WHOLE OF THE ARMY
AND NAVY.

4th month,” (April-May).

The above petition was handed to the SAMBO, (Military adviser to the Commander-in-Chief), by OKUBO ICHIRŌ and KATSU AWA-NO-KAMI in person ; but it was replied that the Imperial decision being irrevocable, it was impossible for the petition to be acceded to.

OWARI was one of the Gosanké—the three Tokugawa

chiefs eligible for election to the office of Shogun. But as he had thrown in his lot with the imperialists, and lent his aid in overthrowing the dynasty, it was very unpalatable to see him placed over the whole Tokugawa family. Hence the above request.

As regards the men-of-war, there were seven in harbour under the chief command of YENOMOTO IDZUMI-NO-KAMI (KAMAJIRO), whose action on this occasion led to very important results. The ships were the Kaiyo Maru (26 guns), Kaiten (Eagle 11), Fujisan (Fusiyama, 12) Choyo (12), Irin (12), Kanko (6), and Banriu (4).

All of them should have been handed over to O HARA on 3rd May; but in consequence of rough weather the ceremony was postponed until the next day. On the morning of that day, however, the whole fleet had disappeared; and a letter, was delivered instead to the officers of the ship in which O HARA SAKI-NO-JIJU had arrived, as under:—

REPRESENTATION OF THE COMMANDER OF THE NAVY OF THE
EX-TYCOON.

“I have the honour to inform you that the reason on account of which the vessels belonging to my (*i.e.* Tokugawa) clan, leave the anchorage this morning, is as follows:—Some days ago, the army and navy forwarded through OKUBO ICHIWO and KATSU AWA, a petition to the quarters of the Commander-in-chief. Whilst the whole fleet was still in a state of suspicion and uneasiness as to the order about surrendering the war-vessels, a high officer, charged with that duty by our master KEIKI, sent to the Shinagawa anchorage to say that the war-vessels were all to be surrendered, without our waiting to hear what the answer of the Commander-in-chief might be. This order affected the feelings of every one very strongly; and as any misconduct would be in direct opposition to the wishes of our master KEIKI, and also highly inexcusable in the eyes of the Imperial Court, we have withdrawn to the coast of Awa and Kadzusa, in order to quiet these feelings and to await the orders of the

Commander-in-chief. It is with no object of lurking in some position of 'vantage, and for keeping a look-out for what may happen, that we have done this: and we venture to hope, therefore, that the vessels of the Imperial navy will not entertain any suspicions as to our intentions. I have addressed the enclosed letter on this subject to OHARA JIJU, but take the liberty of reporting it to you gentlemen also. I beg you to judge by your own feelings what are the emotions of loyalty to KEIKI which animate our clan, and also to appreciate kindly the trouble I have taken; and if you would represent these matters in the proper quarter, I should esteem it a great favour. I therefore forward this to your Excellencies with the enclosed letter, which I beg you kindly to put in OHARA SAMA's hands as soon as possible.

"4th May."

I have, &c.,
(Signed) YENOMOTO IDZUMI.

To their Excellencies

*The Officers of the Mo-jiun Maru,
(Hizen's ship the Eugenie.)*

This action on the part of YENOMOTO greatly irritated the Imperialist leaders; and a letter was sent to TAYASU in the following terms:—

"To TAYASU CHIUNAGON,

"The vessels of war were to have been handed over on the 3rd inst., but it was decided that they should be surrendered the following morning, on account of the violence of the weather prevailing. However, during the night, all the vessels left with their crews on board. It was your duty to recall them at once and surrender them. We are informed that you acknowledged this to the first division of the naval forces, and that you requested a delay on the ground that you could not fix a day, on account of its being necessary to reach the said vessels by sea. The said war-vessels formed an article of themselves in the terms offered on the 26th April, and are machines of the highest importance. Moreover, not only in the castle did you accept the conditions, but you also gave an engagement in writing to take measures for the fulfilment of the Imperial terms.

What sort of action is this then that has been taken in disregard of those terms? Unless you yourself pursue these vessels in a swift boat, and arrange for their surrender at once, the clan and name of TOKUGAWA may have to suffer for it. Therefore consider this well.

(Signed) COMMANDERS OF THE ADVANCE
BY THE TOKAIDO."

The favourers of the Tokugawa cause who had fled northwards formed themselves into several bands under different names and resolved to fight to the death. AIDZU himself had gone to his own castle of Wakamatsu, in the province of Oshiu; but a considerable number of his men joined one of the bands, and succeeded in gaining the sympathy of several daimios and rich men in the country they passed through, receiving from them large contributions of money and rice. The imperialists followed them into all parts of the country whither they had bent their steps; and many were the desperate encounters between them.

At Utsunomiya, on the road to Nikko, the imperialists had taken up a strong position, occupying the castle and the surrounding country.

After various successes and defeats in smaller affairs, the TOKUGAWA men placed OTORI KEISUKE at their head, and he determined to lead them against Utsunomiya.

OTORI had been educated at Benten, and had learnt French drill and tactics from the military teachers who had been lent by France for the purpose. Many of those he had with him had also been drilled by these foreign instructors. They were generally armed with rifles; whilst those whom they had to meet at Utsunomiya, though outnumbering them, were mostly armed only with the bow and arrow, sword and spear. It would not interest my readers to dwell on the details of each fight that daily occurred in many directions during the next few months. Utsunomiya was taken, retaken; again

captured, and the imperialists thoroughly routed ; but an appeal being sent to Yedo, reinforcements were sent, and after a heroic defence, and a whole day's hand-to-hand fighting, it remained in the hands of the imperialists, and Otorri's band fled to Nikko.

Wherever the two parties met, the same determined courage was exhibited. Often the imperialists were so thoroughly beaten, that they had to call for reinforcements—but never would they retire one foot beyond that they were actually driven to, by the result of the day's strife ; and generally they were ready to advance again for another effort on the morrow. There were men among their leaders whom nothing could daunt: and many a day was saved at a critical moment, by the personal intrepidity of individual captains. Such men as KAWADA, ITAGAKI, INOUE, ICHIJI, YAMAGATA, among those well known to foreigners, and a host of others, accomplished wonders in thus keeping up the spirit of their men, and reawakening it when all seemed hopeless.

Their opponents are entitled to similar praise. Under many disadvantages, they fought: gained successes, sustained defeats ; but all the way through, they held their ground until fairly overwhelmed by superiority of numbers or of arms, and only retired to positions whence they could again sally forth, with diminished ranks perhaps, but unabated courage. When the tale is told of the valorous deeds of both sides, it does seem that the power of the Tycoonate was needlessly lost. For had the Tokugawa Government put such a force into the field as it had the means and ability to do, there can be no question they might easily have annihilated their enemies.

Yedo, of course, became the centre of operations for the imperialists. ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA, the SOSAI, was commander-in-chief and was for the present in that city.

SANJO (one of the Fuku Sosai) came to Yédo in the capacity of *Kansasshi* (or Inspector General); and shortly after his arrival, in June 1868, he, by the Emperor's command, conferred upon KAMENOSUKE, a child eight years of age, the chieftain-ship of the Tokugawa family.

It was at this time that the adherents of the clan who remained in Yédo, first assumed the same of *shogitai* (loyalty-shewing band). They became very troublesome, and took possession of the park and monastery at Uyéno, where dwelt the RINNOJI-NO-MIYA. At this time the Miya being but 21 years of age, and being totally without experience, was entirely controlled by the *Kakuwo-in*—the chief priest under him; and as this man was a proud and sturdy upholder of the Tokugawa, and looked with displeasure on the use that was being made of the young Mikado, all the influence attaching to the Miya, which was very great, was given on the side of resistance to the new régime.

The soldiers of the Imperial army were greatly irritated by the samurai of Tokugawa. As a distinctive badge, they wore on their left shoulder, a piece of brocade about six inches long, sewn to the coat at one end, and hanging loosely. They thus got the name of *kingiré* (shreds of brocade) among the people; and the *shogitai* would insult them and even cut them down in the streets.

This continued for a time, until the *shogitai*, whose leaders and original members were good and faithful men, having had their numbers multiplied by the adhesion of all the swash-bucklers and questionable characters in the city, became unbearable. They now seized the RINNOJI-NO-MIYA, as the opposite party may be said to have done the Mikado. The *Kakuwo-in* so influenced the Miya as to obtain his countenance for these desperadoes. It was high time to put a stop to the misdoings of the band. An order was therefore sent to the chief of the

Tokugawa to disband it, and to command that Tōyeisan (Uyéno) should be left to its proper purposes. Officers were accordingly sent, with the commands of the chief that the men should retire and go quietly to their homes. But they were met with a firm refusal.

ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA and SANJO then sent a summons to the RINNOJI-NO-MIYA, intending to persuade him from the improper course he was taking in protecting the men. But Kakuwo-in would not permit him to take any notice of it.

Nothing, therefore, remained, but to use force; and on the 4th July the terrible conflict took place, which was the means of sweeping the *shogitai* from the capital. But it also swept the venerated monastery, with its magnificent temples, from the face of the earth. All the buildings were set on fire, and the sparks, flying over the trees of the park to the town outside, in a few hours a great portion of the district was nothing but a charred and blackened mass. The Miya, accompanied by Kakuwo-in and a few attendants fled to Nikko, of which monastery he was also the chief. The battle was fiercely contested on both sides, but the imperialists were completely triumphant.

Before the battle, notice was sent by the Government to the people of the surrounding districts, to carry their sick and feeble to a place of safety; and the Miya was notified that an attack was about to take place. KAMENOSUKE, the newly appointed head of the TOKUGAWA clan, was also apprised of the intended assault, and it was suggested that the ancestral tablets should be removed.

Many wounded *kuangun* were brought to Yokohama, and lodged, some in a house at Benten, some in a building near the district prison at Tobé, and some at the Ota barracks, near Nōgé. They were attended by

DRS. WILLIS, SCANNELL and JENKINS. I visited those at the Ota barracks on the night of their arrival. Most of them had by that time passed under the doctors' hands. The limbs of some had been amputated ; from some bullets had been extracted ; and the wounds of others had been unsuccessfully probed for bullets. All were more or less suffering. Yet none complained. It was astonishing to see the cheerfulness pervading them. They lay on the clean mats that covered the floors, with a single blanket over them ; and I did not hear a murmur or a groan ; though some were very quiet, and were pointed out by their comrades as being among the more severely wounded : or as having undergone some operation.

All of those I spoke to had bullet wounds, which led me at the time to infer that only such had been sent to Yokohama, to be attended by the foreign doctors. They unanimously expressed gratitude for the attention their wounds had received from these gentlemen ; and the hope that, by their care, they would soon be able to rejoin the fighting battalions in the field.

CHAPTER XXII.

1868.

THE TOKUGAWA REVENUES CONFISCATED.—APPROPRIATION FOR THE FAMILY.—EXPEDITION AGAINST AIDZU.—DESPERATE FIGHTING.—THE NORTHERN CONFEDERATION.—ITS ADDRESS AS SENT TO FOREIGN MINISTERS.—THE IMPERIAL REPLY.—DESERTERS FROM THE CONFEDERATION PLACED IN THE VAN TO ATTACK AIDZU.—AIDZU'S APPEAL TO THEM, CONVEYED TO THE KUGES IN CHARGE, REJECTED BY THE MILITARY ADVISERS.—INDIGNATION OF THE CLAN'S YONEZAWA AND SENDAI.—MURDER OF SERATA.—KUGES TAKE REFUGE IN AKITA.—THE RINNOJI-NO-MIYA IN SENDAI.—THE MIKADO OF THE NORTH.—DECREE OF THE CONFEDERATION RESPECTING HIM.—THE EX-TYCOON RETIRES TO SUMPŪ.—THE TOKUGAWA NAVY.—DEPARTURE FROM YEDO, AND MANIFESTO OF ITS OFFICERS.—RENEWED CONFIDENCE AND RETURN OF THE DESERTING CLANS.—REINFORCEMENTS AND BRIGHTENED PROSPECTS OF IMPERIALISTS.—THE NAME OF YEDO CHANGED TO TOKIO.

THE revenues of Tokugawa under the Tycoonate, were estimated at 8,000,000 koku of land (\$80,000,000). They were of course applied in part to the purposes of Government but a vast portion also went to the maintenance of the hosts of retainers of the family.

This revenue was now confiscated by the Government, only 700,000 kokus (\$3,500,000) being appropriated to the family. It was a bitter disappointment. None of the old dependents had doubted that, at the least, 3,000,000 kokus would be accorded to them. As it was, by this resolution, many were reduced to great poverty.

Probably with a view to their relief, in July, the Government announced that it would take the old retainers into its service as a special act of grace; and this led to the submission of many.

The announcement of KAMENOSUKE's promotion, was formally made to the foreign ministers:—

“I have the honour to inform you that my house has returned the Government to the Imperial Court, and that His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me the title of Daimio, and a yearly income of 700,000 kokus.

“In accordance with the imperial edict, the Emperor will undertake in future, the maintenance of friendly relations with Foreign Powers; and our house will no more take any part in this.

“TOKUGAWA KAMENOSUKE.

The Imperial Government now determined upon an expedition specially directed against AIDZU. “It is the root of the rebellion,” said the military advisers ICHIJ and ITAGAKI, at a later date, “if we destroy the root, the branches will wither.”

In accordance with this resolution, increased efforts were put forth. But it was one thing to dispatch troops; it was another for them to reach their destination. They were opposed every inch of their way; and that so obstinately that when they succeeded in taking a stronghold one day, the rebels would retake it on the next; and again had they to fight to make their footing good. At Shirakawa, at Nagaoka, at the Enoki pass, after tremendous fighting, it was all they could do to hold their own. It was literally “the tug of war.” Foot to foot the hosts

resisted each other ; equally determined to do or die. At one time the rebels had completely hemmed in the imperial army, cut it off from its supports, and placed it in imminent peril. KURODA and YAMAGATA called upon their men, and by their personal determination infused such a spirit into them, as enabled them to continue their efforts until the rebels were forced to evacuate the castle and town of Nagaoka, and the loyalists entered with drums beating and banners flying. But so long, so violent, and so resolute had been the struggle that the unfortunate town was reduced to ruins.

I need not dwell on the struggles at Tanagura, or at Iwakitaira the strongest of the strongholds of Oshiu and Dewa. NINNAJI-NO-MIYA was in chief command of this expedition ; and after many such battles, often apparently hopelessly lost, yet tenaciously followed up a day or two after, the army approached their goal—the castle of Wakamatsu. All the northern country is mountainous, which accounts in some degree for the wonderful stand that the rebels were able to make ; but it redounds all the more to the credit of the imperialists. Greek met Greek. On the one side there was paucity of numbers, and insufficient war material, but with a knowledge of the country, and the universal sympathy of the population. On the other side there were numbers and plenty of war material. Both had brave leaders ; and both were inspired by enthusiasm of the highest pitch. It is also a pleasing fact to record, that, as antagonists, each side appreciated and respected the other.

The northern clans had entered into a solemn league and covenant, as will be seen by the following document sent to the foreign ministers :—

“ The COMMANDING OFFICERS of the princes of Oshiu, Dewa and Etchigo take the liberty to address the following communication to you.

" In consequence of the treaties which our country had concluded, people of foreign nations came to us from the distant seas, crossing the ocean with the same facility as the land.

" The mind of your country is only now turned towards commerce, for the great results obtained by your nation in the sciences and the mechanical arts have done much for the welfare of our country, which by their help has developed itself much more rapidly.

" Therefore the princes of Oshiu, Dewa, and Etchigo feel themselves bound to speak to you on some important subjects.

" The Government of the country, which for so many years was directed by the Tokugawa, passing from father to son, has, by falling back to the Imperial Court, passed into the hands of the Emperor-child. This opportunity is made use of by reprobate servants to issue in his name violent orders. But of all these so-called imperial decrees we do not believe a single one to be genuine. Having, by murder and bloodshed, forced the princes into submission, they have obtained that the princes from fear of these terrible punishments, obey their orders ; but out of ten who have submitted, eight or nine will never join them with their hearts, the spirit of their great ancestors having passed into them. And it is with suppressed wrath that they regard the present state of things.

" When this state of things shall have come to an end, and it will very soon be so, the right will come into value again. Can it be doubted that the brother and brother, master and servant, will live in peace and friendship again, and that the country will become strong? Or does our country alone not know the heavenly virtues, and the relations of friendship?

" After mature consideration the princes and kerais, high and low ones, of Oshiu, Dewa and Etchigo, have concluded a league, binding themselves by a solemn oath to restore to the right its true value. We will destroy the offenders. Those who fly before us we shall not pursue ; but we will reconquer Japan, that the Emperor may indeed reign over it. The Ministers and Consuls of foreign powers who observe the strife from close by, will form their own judgment on everything that happens.

" By explaining in this letter, the truth and the un-

truth, the right and the wrong, it has not been our intention to make fine phrases to our advantage ; we only wish to inform everyone, that he may be on his guard when these robbers try to confound right and wrong by publishing fictitious decrees of the Emperor.

"We should feel very happy, Sir, if you would be convinced that our only desire is to communicate the truth to you.

"We believe further that what we have mentioned above, may be of some importance with regard to the treaties already concluded.

"Finally, we request you not to throw any blame upon us that we have done ourselves the honour to address you thus."

7th Month : (18 August to 15 September 1868).

Signed by the Commanding officers of SENDAI, YONEZAWA, AIDZU, NAGAOKA and SHONAI."

Thus AIDZU, YONEZAWA, NAGAOKA, SENDAI, SHONAI, and others, were united ; and it was their territory that was now to be traversed. August and September came and passed, and still the imperialists made slow progress. But at length Nagaoka having fallen in spite of all their valorous efforts, the confederate clans fell back, and a few of them submitted to the imperialists.

It is probable that the following answer to the Northern Confederacy, which was issued in the name of the Emperor, without a day's delay, may have had much to do in securing this delinquency :—

"Owing to a relaxation of the Imperial authority, the duties of government were confided during a lengthened period to the military power. My late accession to the throne which has descended to me from my glorious and illustrious ancestors has been signalized by the restoration of the ancient form of government. To this event the triumph of just and legitimate principles, the whole nation gives its adherence. The resignation of the duties of government by TOKUGAWA YOSHINOBU was the natural result of the tendency of the age. The rapid march of civilization demands the concentration of the governing power in a single centre and identity of feeling in the

national mind in order to preserve the state and insure the execution of the laws. The reason then of the remodelling of the constitution and the establishment of a deliberative system by which all measures of policy are determined by us in public conclave with the nobles of our court, the territorial nobles and the samurai of the whole country, is that the affairs of an Empire are not to be governed by the caprices of a single individual. A section however of the country, comprising Oshiu and Dewa, has not yet submitted to the Imperial authority; it wantonly commits acts of violence and spreads desolation over the land. This causes us the most poignant grief. Are not all within the seas our children? Is not the whole land our family? How should we make any difference between our subjects or feel indifferent to any of them? But as they attempt to thwart our government and injure our people, we have been compelled to levy the forces of the Empire to punish them for their faults. We are unwilling to believe that everyone in the section comprising Oshiu and Dewa, is rebellious and deluded. Some amongst them there must be who comprehend just principles and understand what are the national interests. Perhaps their strength is inadequate, or they are kept back by the force of surrounding circumstances, or they are ignorant of the true state of the case, or are misled by apparent inconsistencies. If any such will take advantage of the opportunity now presented to them, and prove the rectitude of their intentions by at once declaring themselves on our side, we will ourselves exercise selections in their case. Nay, we will not be indifferent to the offenders even, if they repent themselves and submit to us. Every man shall be judged according to his merits—we could not bear to confound the loyal and disloyal, or treat both good and bad alike. Do you then take these our words to heart, and bring not eternal disgrace upon yourselves by the error of a moment.

“September, 1868.”

Among the deserters from the cause were YONEZAWA and SENDAI; and to give them an opportunity of proving their sincerity they were ordered to lead the van in the attack upon AMZU. The AMZU clan, therefore, seriously set to work to put their castle in a state of preparation. On hear-

ing of their approach, however, a letter was sent to them by Aidzu, asking them to desist from attacking him, and expressing a hope that the circumstances under which the clan had fought, originating in their devoted loyalty, might plead for them and that they should obtain the imperial forgiveness. His old allies placed the letter before certain Kugés in charge of the division, and they were inclined to grant the prayer contained in the letter. The military advisers, however, opposed it, and the war was continued; much to the annoyance of many of the men of Yonezawa and Sendai, who said that it was nothing but personal hatred against AIDZU on the part of the generals. Within a few days, SERATA, who had been the strongest opponent of the appeal, was murdered; and, such was the excitement, that the Kugés were obliged to take refuge in Akita.

The RINNOJI-NO-MIYA, still accompanied by Kakuwo-in, had latterly found his way to Sendai, where he was received with open arms. They declared themselves his subjects, and some went so far as to call him the Mikado of the north. They professed to rejoice; insomuch as none could now call them rebels. The subjoined decree issued by the Northern Confederation, will prove interesting, as giving an insight into the views of the friends of the ex-Tycoon on much that has been told in the foregoing pages. NIKKO-sama is another title of the RINNOJI and UYENO-NO-MIYA.

“DECREE concerning the arrival of NIKKO Sama in the provinces of Etchigo and Dewa.

“The evil deeds of the robber Satsuma have never found their equal from the oldest times up to the present day. He has tried to ruin the NIKKO Sama; he has accused TOKUGAWA YOSHINOBU of a crime he never committed; so that, without means of justifying himself—devouring his tears, and laying his hands idly into each other—he awaited his destruction.

"NIKKO Sama, who for many years has felt the most sincere regard for him, felt deeply afflicted at this. To make known the wrong which was done to YOSHINOBU, he went himself, at the end of the second month to ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA at Sumpu, and had a conference with him, in which he told him everything that had happened since the affair at Fushimi. But then the robber Satsuma presented a false "Imperial decree," stating, that if YOSHINOBU would openly submit he should be treated with clemency; and that he should not suffer any loss with regard to his revenues and possessions. Although the NIKKO Miya Sama was convinced that this "Imperial decree" was a forgery, he nevertheless, as the document bore the august title of an "Imperial decree," communicated it to YOSHINOBU on his return to Yedo. YOSHINOBU immediately opened the gates of the castle of his ancestors to the Imperial troops, retired to Mito, and delivered his arsenals and men-of-war to the Imperial Court.

"Although he thus gave the clearest proof of his submission, he nevertheless did not obtain the pardon of the Emperor; but had to remain like a prisoner in sorrowful seclusion and solitude.

"NIKKO Sama, in his sorrow, addressed himself repeatedly to TAISOTOKU-NO-MIYA (ARISUGAWA) to obtain the pardon of YOSHINOBU; but Satsuma took care that none of his letters reached their destination.

"Full of jealousy and hatred against the spiritual magnitude of the Miya Sama, he tried to make away with him. Repeatedly he sent him invitations to go to Kioto; but, as the people of Yedo and the surrounding country begged him, in numberless petitions, not to leave them, he did not go. Then invitations often came from the Sotoku office, that the Miya Sama might come to the castle—from which he certainly would never have returned—but he excused himself by pleading sickness.

"As all these devices were defeated, they had recourse to a new one. On the morning of the 18th of the 5th month, having arrived at an understanding with SANJO SANEYOSHI, (Sanjo Udaijin), rapacious bands forced their way into Toyéisan (Uyéno), burned the principal temple, (at the gate of which the Imperial edict was affixed), the other temples, and the house of the Miya Sama: whilst the priests were killed, and the furniture stolen.

"This was an act of infamy as well as rapacity. When Miya Sama, pursued by the robbers, tried to find protection at Nikko, he found every place there, also, occupied by the enemy : so that he did not know where to go.

"But he had heard of the holy league entered into by the Princes of Oshiu and Etchigo.

"He, in whose veins flows the blood of the Emperors, turned his foot thither, disguised as a beggar and having to find his way through the wild solitudes and over the roaring torrents. He invited the princes to restore, in its integrity, the power of the Imperial family, and to destroy the rebels.

"Miya Sama, who, by order of the late Emperor, entered into the holy priesthood, has made it the duty of his life—faithful to the principles of Buddha—to succour the people in their misfortune.

"By the evil deeds of Satsuma, principally, misery has fallen on the people.

"To destroy the robbers, to restore peace to the country, and quietness to the people—this is the doctrine of Buddha, and the endeavours of Miya Sama.

"Are we not all Japanese? Do we not all adore the descendants of our Emperors?

"We cannot live in peace with this Satsuma, whose evil deeds we have thus described. If the heavens were to disappear, the earth to break down, and the sea to become dry, we would not do it.

"We have only one desire ; and that is, that every one may recognise the noble intentions of the Miya Sama, and aid in the destruction of the villains ; that Miya Sama may safely return to Uyéno.

"We have published this decree that those who do not know the state of affairs and the intentions of the Miya Sama, may not believe, as some say, that again—as in the olden times—two Emperor's reign, one in the North and another in the South.

7th month, 4th year, (18th August to 16th September, 1868)."

About this time, also, it was, that the retainers of the TOKUGAWA family having settled on the fief in Suruga, KEIKI requested permission to go thither ; which being complied with he removed to Sumpu, where he still resides.

The TOKUGAWA navy, it will be remembered was taken away by YENOMOTO, on the day or which it ought to have been given over to the new Government. In response to the letter of YENOMOTO, probably making a virtue of necessity, the Imperial officers had contented themselves with the Fusiyama and three other ships, leaving the rest in possession of the TOKUGAWA family. As yet, with the exception of the steamers thus made over, none of those entitled the Imperial fleet actually belonged to the Emperor, but all of them had been purchased, and were still owned, manned and equipped, by daimios. There was, therefore, nothing unnatural in the great TOKUGAWA chief still continuing to own these steamers.

The sympathies of the officers and crews were strongly on the side of those who were fighting for their old master, in the north; and none were louder in their condemnation of the submission of KEIKI, than the officers and men of the navy.

The rising in the north, under the auspices of the RINNOJI-NO-MIYA seemed to provide a favourable opportunity for active co-operation with them on the part of the navy, and it was resolved to take advantage of it. On the eve of departure the following manifesto was sent to me by the hand of a gentleman whose eminent station was a guarantee for its authenticity.

"We, the officers of the Navy and Army of the late Government, beg the Editor of the *Japan Gazette*, Yokohama, to publish the following

MANIFESTO.

"During the confederacy formed by the several Daimios of the provinces of Oshiu, Dewa, and Etchigo, against the Southern party, many battles have been fought in these provinces, but hitherto victory has been doubtful. As such a state of affairs is disastrous to both parties, some Daimios who have no ill-feeling against either, hope to succeed in an endeavour by friendly mediation to arrange terms of peace, and they are so

hopeful too that they think there is every prospect that peace will soon be established; and thus all classes in Japan will be delivered from the threatening calamities of a long civil war while good order will be restored and justice established on a firmer base. But we who have examined carefully into the various attendant circumstances, and have studied also the principal events in the histories of other nations of the world, do not think that permanent peace will result from such mediation. A state of peace depends more upon the disposition of the heart than upon the pressure of outward circumstances. The so-called troops of the Mikado may bring the weight of military power to oppress the Daimios and people of the North, but might, so exercised, can never calm our hearts which are swelling with revenge.

“Those Southern Daimios who boast so much of their allegiance to the Mikado and deck their shoulders with the *nishiki*, (i.e. slip of silk or brocade worn as badge of Mikado's service), are not true in their allegiance: it is all on the outside. And the new form of government which they have tried to establish, is just as tricky as they are themselves. It professes to be just and impartial, but in reality it is not so, as everyone may plainly see, and therefore we need not trouble ourselves further to explain its iniquity.

“Although it has happened that the Tokugawa family and retainers have submitted to the orders of the Southern party, it must be remembered that this submission has been gained either under fear and threatening, or else that the Tokugawa clan, taking advantage of our internal strife, have by our submission endeavoured to seek personal aggrandisement, and an increase of wealth with extension of their estates. By obtaining such merely ephemeral prosperity they seem to have forgotten the enduring relationship of bone and flesh, of lord and retainer. It may be, however, that some other influence has guided them, and that they have been deceived by some inferior retainers who have been seeking personal advantage from their country's troubles. Alas! can we say that such men give a hearty allegiance to the Mikado?

“We have to state this also, that when the *kuangun's* came into our eastern provinces, they did a grievous

wrong to the late Tycoon, an innocent man. Besides branding him as *chotéki*, or the enemy of the Mikado, they inflicted on him five heavy punishments. So great was the injustice done to him, that, driven out from his castle, he was deprived of his treasury, and his retainers of their estates, while the tombs of the Tokugawa had none left to offer the propitiatory sacrifices. Yet under all this injustice, the Tokugawa retainers humbly obeyed the edict of the late Tycoon, enjoining that respect must always be paid to the Mikado. Some have engaged in trade and some in agriculture, but though they have cast aside their swords, such dishonour they bear patiently. Again we ask, can this be called hearty consent to the *kuangun's* orders?

"Those who administer the new form of government offer assistance, under a profession of benevolence, to the Tokugawa retainers, by promising them situations of trust under the government; yet few amongst us care to receive such favours, and none of us receive them with pleasure. Why should we? We know that this new government is in the hands of some two or three self-interested Daimios, and that it is not approved by those whom our nation regards as its wisest politicians. We repeat that this new government is all a matter of selfish interest, and that these men who pretend to be our benefactors are in reality enemies to us and to our country; for their design is not merely against the power but against the very life of our Tycoon. Oh, and shall we subject ourselves to the rule of men like these?

"If we reflect upon the dealings of heaven and of nature, and upon the promptings of the human heart, we cannot but grieve over the misfortunes of the Tokugawa retainers. We intreated earnestly that our unfortunate countrymen might be allowed to settle in the island of Yezo. We were not listened to; and, as a home has thus been denied to those who need it, all who refuse to submit to the Southern tyranny have determined to take up arms. Do not call them conspirators or traitors: rather think of them as honourable men, bound together to defend the right. Call them Patriots!

"We proceed to accuse the Southern confederation of unrighteous dealing. Although the proclamations said to be issued by the Mikado always state that the object

of the new Government is to follow equity, to disregard personal interest, to extend the rule of justice, to root out evil, and to feed, clothe, and protect the widow and the orphan, yet these men, chiefs and subordinates, who have seized the Governmental power are dissolute and licentious men—men who were held in disgrace under the TOKUGAWA rule. When assembled in council on state affairs they dress themselves up in fine clothes, puffed up with conceit, and admiring themselves for their robes of blue or of purple. But when they leave the Council they give themselves up to drunkenness and lust, as if they had lost all sense of shame. When disasters threaten a country, the rulers should be foremost in showing their grief, and when peace prevails, they should first be witnesses of their people's joy. At the present time, Japan, in her people and in her country, suffers from civil war. In this a time when her rulers should give themselves up to drink and frolic ?

“These Southerners are ready enough to heap bad names upon the TOKUGAWA supporters who are now compelled to use arms for their own defence. Our fidelity is being tried ; and because we dare even to death, they call us *zoku*,—outlaws, and rebels and robbers. But what of themselves ? They seek the guidance of Yedo ruffians ; and prowling about the streets together on dark nights, they plunder and steal ; and where they cannot obtain money, they put their victims to death.

“The TOKUGAWA retainers have been exasperated by such deeds ; some have taken up arms, others have occupied themselves in lower ranks as merchants and farmers, while the very aged and the infant, the widow and the orphan, have all become sufferers from hunger and cold.

“Hitherto we have respectfully and patiently submitted to the wishes of the late Tycoon—we have borne our griefs quietly, but now our patience has run its length. If we attempt to beg the Mikado to stay the punishments which are being inflicted on the innocent, there are great difficulties placed in our way at the very outset. We have therefore determined leave Yedo for the purpose of taking means to place the government of our country on a good foundation. We have said that peace is not to be brought about by force, for it defends upon a man's

natural disposition. The strong daimios must not use their powers to oppress the weaker, and the weak daimios must be ready to show due submission and assistance to the stronger. The innocent must not be punished unjustly, and their complaints must be attended to—these things properly carried out will lead to the happiness of our country and our people. And these things we are determined at all risks to advance.

“We shall meet with difficulties; but these we are determined to overcome—by force of arms if other measures fail. We abhor war, and if now we are compelled to fight, we fight only to secure our country’s future peace. Our object is to remove the traces of weakness, indifference, and licentiousness which have been too evident in our country for some centuries past; and by making advance in civilization, to make our nation strive so as to be a fit ally to foreign nations in arts, in sciences, and in arms.

“This is the work we have to do, and this work we will do!

“Attend! all high officers, and all you who are now living in retirement, attend to this our Manifesto.”

“Fourth year of Keiwo, and Eighth month, (Oct. 1868).”

This gave renewed confidence to the clans, and they sundered themselves once more from the Imperial army. The Kugés (SAWA, KUJO and DAIGO) who had gone to Akita found themselves in imminent peril. They were hemmed in on every side, and had to seek shelter where they could, and encounter many hardships; but, when all seemed altogether hopeless, as had so frequently happened to the *kuangun* army before, fresh troops arrived, and their star resumed its brilliant ascendancy.

This month, the name of Yedo was changed for that of TOKIO (the Eastern capital); and from this time onwards, I shall speak of it under its new designation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1868.

PURCHASE OF THE HONGKONG MINT.—BASE COIN.—PAPER MONEY.—THE DIFFICULT TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT ABLY CONDUCTED BY INEXPERIENCED MEN.—THE COMMON PEOPLE TOOK NO PART IN THE STRIFE.—REASONS FOR THE IMPERIAL REMOVAL TO TOKIO.—CURRENT EVENTS CONNECTED WITH FOREIGNERS.—THE NEW GOVERNORS OF KANAGAWA.—DEPARTURE OF H.E. M. LEON ROCHES, AND ARRIVAL OF H.E. M. OUTREY.—INDEMNITY TO MEN PERMANENTLY MAIMED AT KIOTO.—MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS IN YOKOHAMA.—MR. BENSON ELECTED MUNICIPAL DIRECTOR.—CONFLICT AT NIIGATA.—LOSS OF H. M. S. RATTLER.—YOKOSKA DOCKYARD.—GOVERNMENT OBTAINS A LOAN FROM ORIENTAL BANK.—SERIOUS INCIDENT AT OSAKA.—REVIEW OF BRITISH TROOPS BEFORE SIR H. PARKES AND SANJO DAINAGON ON THE MIKADO'S BIRTHDAY.—PRESENTATION OF SWORD TO NAKAI KOZO.—SWEDISH TREATY SIGNED.—THE MIKADO'S FIRST JOURNEY TO TOKIO.

In the month of July 1868, it was reported that the Japanese Government had purchased the Hongkong Mint. As to the minting machinery that the Tycoon's Government had been in treaty for in Europe, I

believe it came out, and, with that purchased in Hong-kong, was set up at Osaka, in the fine building built for the purpose under the superintendence of Mr. THOMAS WATERS, who had previously been engaged by the prince of Satsuma to construct various factories at Kagoshima. A foundry and cotton mill had both been put in operation there under his directions, assisted by Mr. A. N. SHILLINGFORD.

Of the Mint I shall have more to say in its proper place. It was high time that something of the kind was established; for not only was the supply of ichibus very irregular, but the various daimios had mintages of their own, and to meet the heavy expenditure they were now put too, a large amount of base coin was issued, which ultimately led to heavy losses being sustained both by native and foreign merchants. The paper money also of the daimios was circulated to a prodigious amount; so that the whole monetary system was felt to be thoroughly bad.

A war such as the Government was engaged in prosecuting is not carried on for nothing; and the universal "squeezing" that went on among all the officials through whose hands contracts passed, made this one especially expensive. The Government was forced, therefore, to take its financial position into serious consideration, in order to provide money for the national expenses.

Under these circumstances it was determined to raise a large sum by means of inconvertible imperial paper money. It was to be legal currency at *par*, and a certain proportion of it was to be paid off year by year, until in fifteen years the entire amount should be redeemed.

I have said so much in favour of the ex-Tycoon, and have endeavoured so strongly to impress on the minds of my readers the intelligent and progressive views entertained by him, that I feel myself bound to be equally

particular in doing justice to the new Government. It did seem impossible that men who had been so bitterly opposed to foreigners and all who favoured them, should be suddenly converted, and become staunch upholders of foreign intercourse. But, as I have already stated, events shaped a course for themselves. The virulent and bigoted daimios, who were in the eyes of their own people imbued with the purest patriotism, ceased to have the degree of influence they had formerly exercised. And men with an intelligent appreciation of the signs of the times, and who, whatever their personal prejudices, saw the fallacy of the exclusion policy, came into power.

Many of these men are still at the helm; and those foreigners who are apt to criticise everything that is done by the Government—too often unfavourably and ungenerously—should bear in mind the state of the country at the time when they, as perfect novices, took it in hand; and what they have made, and are making, it.

A more difficult position than they were placed in can hardly be conceived; and to many who have resided in the country and watched its progress step by step, it is not easy to realise that the change, so vastly for the better, has been conducted by new and politically untried men, in so short a period. It is the more remarkable too, when it is considered that some of the men who have been most active in bringing about this state of things had formerly been rabid "expulsionists." For instance, when the Choshu clan and others, indignant at the delay of the Tycoon in carrying out the orders of the Court with regard to driving away the barbarians, proposed that the Mikado himself should head his army for the purpose, the present Prime Minister, SANJO Daijin, used all his influence as *Kokuji Nakari*, (Minister of Home affairs at the Imperial Court), to persuade His Majesty to comply. He with HIGASHI

KUZE, SAWA, and several others, who have since proved themselves sincere in their conversion, were powerful members of the *Sako-joi-ron*; and I need not stop to mention some of less exalted rank who belonged to the same party; for in fact, they were in the majority.

Fortunately the people at large took no part in the strife. They left it entirely in the hands of the few who had originated it—the samurai—the unproductive class. Thus the internal condition of the country was not affected prejudicially to any great extent. Husbandry and commerce went on as usual; and the ideas of Jeannette in the popular song, seemed to be realised—

“ Let those who make the quarrels be
The only men who fight.”

The proposal of Okubo, with regard to the capital, it has been perceived had found favour with the Emperor and his advisers, but it was soon seen that, for various reasons, it was desirable that the old seat of government should be retained. In the first place it jumped with the prejudices of the people; then it was a more central position than Osaka; and, a more potent reason still may have been that it was the very heart of the Tokugawa power. The presence of the Mikado in the midst of the friends of Tokugawa might frustrate any attempts at conspiracy. It was the bold advance of the holders of the Imperial flag before any coalition had taken place in favour of the old dynasty, that prevented any such immediate confederation. Most of the daimios whose territories were passed, would gladly have joined the banner of the Tokugawa, had it been raised; but without it they had no rallying point; and were compelled, one by one, there and then, to declare for or against the new *régime*. Of course they were powerless, and submitted with the best grace they could. It was the long delay in reaching the north, that gave time for

the coalition I described in the preceding chapter. Had the imperialists acted with less promptitude, such combination would not have been confined to the North.

There was yet one other motive which led to the removal of the Court to Tokio. Money was wanted. The revenues of the Tokugawa family must be seized ; and by far the larger proportion of them was obtainable from its territories in the Kanto—(the eight provinces immediately eastward of the Hakoné pass—Musashi, Awa, Kadzusa, Shimosa, Kodzuké, Shimotsuké, Idzu, and Sagami), of which the city of Tokio was the centre. It will be seen, as I proceed, how much of the action that has been ascribed to patriotism in the approaching changes was really produced by the necessity for money.

It was resolved, then, that the Mikado should proceed to Tokio ; and whilst preparations are being made for his departure from the ancient province of Yamato, in which, from the establishment of the Empire by JINMU TENNO, over two thousand five hundred years ago, the Emperors had resided, I will look back, and describe in few words, some of the events more or less connected with foreigners, each of them having its own degree of importance, which have been passing.

In Yokohama, all had been quiet. On the 11th May, the Tokugawa officers of Kanagawa transferred the Government of the district into the hands of two of the Mikado's Ministers for Foreign affairs—HIGASHI KUZE and NABESHIMA.

TERASHIMA TOZO and ISEKI SAYEMON, accompanied the Ministers, and remained as joint Governors.

As thenceforward the settlement was to be under the direct protection of the Government, who undertook that there should be no cause for further alarm, the European and American guards were withdrawn from the positions

lately taken up ; and the guard-houses were occupied by the imperial soldiers.

On 23rd June, H.E. M. LEON ROCHES left Japan, M. MAXIME OUTREY, having arrived a few days before, to replace him as Minister for France.

Two of the men who had been wounded in the attack upon the *cortège* of the English minister were maimed for life. They were sent home, therefore ; the Government paying over for their use the sum of \$10,000, which was not handed to them, but applied to the purchase of an annuity which would give to each an income of over one pound a week for the remainder of his days.

The settlement of Yokohama was in a thoroughly unsatisfactory condition. The authorities were anything but parsimonious in the amount of money they were willing to spend in improving it ; but they insisted on doing it their own way ; and that was literally burying the money in mud. The suggestions of the residents both as regards road-making and drainage were entirely disregarded ; and the unfortunate holder of the office of Municipal Director, was between two stools. The community attacked him in no measured terms, for answering an appeal sent in by their committee, in terms which seemed to assume that he was the servant of the Japanese rather than the representative of the foreign residents. Subsequently Mr. DORMEN resigned, and it was arranged that the office should be elective ; and that the holder of it should really be the deputy of those who elected him. In accordance with this, out of five or six candidates, Mr. BENSON, an American, was elected, but there was little improvement for some time.

On the 18th September, Niigata, the port on the west coast that it was proposed to open for foreign residence, was the scene of a conflict between the two contending parties in the civil war, which was magnified, in the

accounts of the day, into a bombardment. There were about three hundred men belonging to Yonezawa, Sendai and Aidzu in the town; who were attacked and put *hors de combat* by some southerners, who arrived by sea.

The S.S. Osaca was in port and Mr. E. SCHNELL and some of the officers were on shore; but they reached the steamer in safety. Mr. H. SCHNELL was actually in the Aidzu territory at the time; and as the Kuanguns were quite well aware that foreigners were illegally supplying arms and ammunition to the northern confederation, it would have gone hard with these gentlemen had they been captured.

Within a week of the affair at Niigata H.B.M.S. RATTLER was totally lost in Lapeyrouse Strait, to the north of the island of Yezo. H.I.M.S. Duplex went to her assistance, and found her crew in safety on shore; but they had been on half rations for fourteen days.

I omitted to mention in its proper place that the Yokos'ka Dock and Arsenal, about twelve miles from Yokohama, were being fast proceeded with previous to the Tycoon's abdication. A large amount of machinery had also arrived from France, money for which had been supplied by the *Société Generale*.

Pressure had been put upon the Government, and it seemed inevitable that the dock should fall into the hands of the French. To avoid this an appeal was made to the Oriental Bank, to advance the requisite sum. The British Minister was also consulted, who was so well satisfied with the good faith of the Government that he strongly supported the appeal. The money was advanced and the anxiety respecting the dock was removed. This was the first of several occasions on which the Oriental Bank came to the assistance of the Government.

A curious incident, which might have led to serious

consequences happened in the month of October, at Osaka. A sailor from an American merchant ship, a Greek by birth, entered the house of ITO SHUNSKÉ, Governor of Osaka, and called for some saké. He was told that it was a private house, and politely asked to leave. He refused to go, and loudly asserting that it was a tea-house insisted that saké should be brought. Mr. Ito, hearing the disturbance, came forward, and quietly assuring him of the mistake he had made, telling him in English that the house was his private residence, and that he was Governor of the city, again requested him to depart. The fellow thereupon drew a dagger that he had upon him; but before he could use it, the Governor closed with him and succeeded in wresting it from him. Here was a case of a man drawing a weapon to assault a master surrounded by his *kerai*, which under ordinary circumstances would have led to his being cut down *instantly*. Or, had the Japanese argued as foreigners had been in the habit of doing, it might have been declared to be an attempt by an emissary of a foreign Government to assassinate the Governor of Osaka. However Mr. Ito had the man secured and handed over to the American authorities, who took care that his punishment was commensurate with his crime.

The 6th November was marked by a review of the British troops before H.E. Sir HARRY PARKES K.C.B., and no less a personage then SANJO Dainagon who visited Yokohama for the first time. It was the birthday of the Mikado, and as much was made of the occasion as possible. The British Minister's suite included many officers, civil and others; and Lady PARKES and Mrs. NORMAN, the latter the wife of Colonel NORMAN, commandant of the garrison and in command of the 10th Regiment, were present on horseback.

The Japanese grandee was also on horseback, dressed in

flowing robes of figured white silk of exquisite texture, but certainly inconvenient for equestrianism. His horse was led by two *bettoes* (grooms). One of the Governors of Kanagawa was in attendance, almost as richly attired as the Envoy himself. He was on horseback; and there were two dignitaries in a carriage driven by a foreigner. Besides these were about a couple of dozen officials on foot, and a guard of thirty or forty soldiers dressed in blue serge of foreign fashion, with black cloth caps. They approached the parade ground in slow and solemn procession.

SANJO is a small man of a peculiarly juvenile appearance. Even now, (twelve years later), it is not easy to picture him as having taken the active part he really did in the events preceding the fall of the Tycoon. But there he was, unquestionably one of the greatest personages in the Empire—one of the special representatives of his sovereign in Tokio; and, as a Fuku-Sosai, one of the actual rulers of the country—for it will be remembered that the Sosai with the assistance of the Fuku-Sosai gave the final decision upon every measure before it became law.

His demeanour throughout the review was staid and immoveable—not a smile or any indication of interest in the proceedings did he allow to escape him.

On his arrival the artillery fired a salute, and then, preceded by Sir HARRY PARKES and his suite, the Envoy and Governor rode past the line. The ordinary evolutions were gone through; after which the great one rode off at the same slow pace, attended now by the British Minister and his suite, to H. B. M. Legation. At noon a salute of twenty-one guns was fired by all the men-of-war in harbour; and thus were the first birthday honours paid by foreigners to His Imperial Majesty.

During the visit Sir HARRY handed to SANJO the sword

sent by Her Majesty to NAKAI Kozo, who had been active in his defence at Kioto, and SANJO delivered it to its intended recipient.

On the 11th November, the treaty between Sweden and Japan was signed by H. E. DIRK DE GRAEFF VAN POLESBROECK (Dutch-Minister) Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of Sweden and Norway, and HIGASHI KUZE, TERASHIMA Tozo and ISEKI SAYEMON, Plenipotentiaries for the Tenno of Japan. The treaty was to take effect from 1st May 1869.

Now returning once more to the west. The Mikado left Kioto on the 29th October, setting forward for his Eastern Capital, accompanied by IWAKURA UHIOE-NO-KAMI (now Udaijin), UWAJIMA; about twenty kugés and three or four other daimios.

Previous to his departure a proclamation had been sent to all the post stations on the road, that there was to be no impressing of coolies as in the olden times under the Tycoons; but that all would be paid for their services.

There was some apprehension felt lest an attempt should be made by the friends of the old *régime* to carry off the Mikado on the way. Proper precautions were taken in case of any attack; but nothing of the kind occurred.

The Japanese authorities had the thoughtfulness to provide that foreigners should have the opportunity of seeing the procession as it approached Kanagawa. A favourable spot was selected for them, and officers appointed to direct them to it.

The procession, in its simplicity and the absence of the brilliant colours and varied armour that had formerly distinguished such scenes, was somewhat disappointing to many. There were in all only a thousand soldiers, the officials of the Government and the higher officers of

the troops riding among them, breaking them up into detached parties, the largest of which was only 180 strong, and the smallest 40. There were four Imperial flags and eight bands of drums and fifes playing over and over again a single strain, which foreigners to this day find it impossible to catch.

I call to mind a remark that was made in one of the foreign journals of Yokohama at the time to this effect:—"Japanese soldiers as compared with ours look insignificant, weak, mean and paltry. It is certain that the British Grenadier regards them with ineffable contempt; and it is probable that they are conscious of their inferiority. That these feelings should be perpetuated is the best thing for all of us; for if our people are thoroughly confident of their ability to beat Japanese at any odds, and the Japanese preserve a wholesome awe of our soldiers, the chance of our ever coming into conflict is a very small one."

This may have been the feeling of any one who witnessed the procession; and it is likely that at that time, there existed in the mind of Japanese soldiers, a wholesome respect for the prowess of foreigners. If so, it is fast passing away; and twelve years of foreign drill and experience of foreign arms and ammunition, have brought the soldiers themselves, their officers, and the public journalists, to the conclusion that they are the equals of those who taught them all they know, but whom they will persist in believing to be their natural enemies.

The only real interest appertaining to the Mikado's procession centred in himself. He occupied the plain white wood *norimon* already described, a nearer inspection of which enabled us to see that the roof was richly lacquered in black with the Imperial Chrysanthemum in gold. It was borne by numerous bearers, surrounded by Kugés on foot.

The silence that prevailed among the assembled multitudes, during his passage, was really something that might be felt. Foreigners had been particularly requested not to cheer; so that they did not break the charm. And certainly it was impressive in the extreme. All the people bowed down as he approached; but this was the last time that I ever saw them do so for any great man. The next time I witnessed a procession in which the Mikado figured, all was changed; daimios were a mere memory; His Majesty dressed in European costume rode in a carriage, free to be gazed on by all beholders; and the people had been notified that the *shitaniro* (bowing-down) would not be enforced.

His Majesty arrived in Tokio on the 26th November.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1869.

SURRENDER OF AIDZU.—END OF REBELLION.—DESCENT OF TOKUGAWA FLEET ON YESO.—HAKODATE AND OTHER PLACES TAKEN.—LOSS OF THE KAIYO-MARU.—GOVERNMENT ORDERS KAMENOS'KE TÔ PUT A STOP TO THE OPERATIONS IN YESO.—KEIKI'S OFFER TO LEAD THE EXPEDITION REJECTED.—REJOICINGS IN HAKODATE.—THE ELECTED OFFICIALS.—MEMORIAL OF FROM THE CLANSMEN PRESENTED BY FOREIGN OFFICERS, AND REJECTED BY GOVERNMENT.—THE NORTHERN DAIMIOS SUMMONED TO TOKIO.—RINNOJI-NO-MIYA ORDERED INTO RETIREMENT AT KIOTO.—PAPER MONEY.—YEDO AND NIIGATA.

It is to be supposed that the Mikado had been apprised of everything that was known in Tokio, by special messengers, whilst on his journey. At all events by the time of his arrival in Tokio two great events had occurred. One was the submission of Aidzu, on the 3rd November, and his surrender of the castle of Wakamatsu on the 7th, which virtually put an end to the rebellion—for the one or two daimios who had not yet yielded, could not, and did not, hold out much longer. ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA therefore returned to His Majesty the brocade banner

and the sword with which he had been entrusted ; thus signifying that the end for which he had received them had been accomplished.

The other great event alluded to was the descent upon Yezo by YENOMOTO and his companions. For some time previously to the surrender of Aizu the fleet had been in the neighbourhood of Sendai, hoping to be able to give some assistance to the land force ; but now it was necessary that the fugitives should look to their own safety.

OTORI KEISKE, all through the struggle, from the battle of Utsunomiya to the final resistance at Wakamatsu, had proved himself one of the most brilliant leaders of the opponents of the imperial army, as well as one of the most devoted servants of his old master. Wherever he led, his name was looked upon as the equivalent of a host. He, more than any other single individual, had been the means of obstructing the advance of the enemy ; and at Wakamatsu, he had exhibited prodigies of valour. When it was decided to surrender, he left the castle, and with his followers made his way to Sendai and joined the fleet.

It was determined to capture the island of Yezo, in the hopes that it might be ultimately made a Tokugawa colony, under one of their own chiefs, and that, whilst they brought the whilome waste under cultivation they might form the guardians of the " northern gate of the Empire."

They lost no time in putting their project in execution. Hakodate fell into their hands on the 6th December. NAGAI GEMBA-NO-KAMI—one of the six Japanese plenipotentiaries who signed Lord ELGIN's treaty—was elected Governor. Communications were sent to the foreign Consuls, and it was promised that the safety and welfare of their subjects should be provided for. Matsumai and Esashi were then taken. But though successful on land misfortunes were met with at sea. They lost the Kaiyo

Maru in a gale, YENOMOTO and the crew saving nothing but their military arms. Two steamers were sent from Hakodate to their assistance ; but the weather was so bad, that one was obliged to look after her own safety by returning, and the other, meeting with some damage to her machinery, became unmanageable and was driven ashore not far from the Kaiyo-maru. She had to be abandoned ; and in a few days both were broken to pieces by the violence of the waves.

Yeso was not taken possession of without severe fighting ; and it would make an interesting chapter in this narrative, were I to dwell upon the incidents connected with it from the time the Tokugawa ships arrived off the coast, until the final surrender of YENOMOTO. For this, however, I have not space.

When the Governor of Hakodaté was driven away by the Tokugawa men, he crossed to Awomori, on the mainland, and sent information to Tokio of all that had occurred. The Government immediately sent a letter to the guardians of KAMENOSUKE stating that as his clansmen were acting in so rebellious a manner in Yeso, he must dispatch his own soldiers to put a stop to it, and bring them to their allegiance.

The clan replied that they gladly undertook the duty, but, as KAMENOSUKE was but a child, and unfit to be a leader, they requested that KEIKI Sama might be allowed to take the command ; and KEIKI himself confirmed this proposal. It was, however, disallowed, and MIMBU-TAIYU, the successor of MITO, and brother of KEIKI, who had recently returned from Europe, was ordered to lead the clan's army. This expedition never set forth.

On the 15th December, when the main body of rebel soldiers returned to Hakodate from the capture of the towns and strongholds in the other portions of the island, the rejoicings were very great. A hundred and one guns

were fired from all the Tokugawa men-of-war in port and from the forts. YENOMOTO communicated to the Consuls of foreign powers and the captains of foreign men-of-war, that henceforward all local affairs would be managed by the new officials, who had been selected by vote of the samurai, viz., YENOMOTO KAMAJIRO as President; MATS'DAIRA TARO as Vice-President; ARAI IKUNOS'KE as Head of the Navy; OTORI KEISKE as Head of the Army; NAGAI GEMBA-NO-KAMI and NAKAJIMA SABUROSKE as joint Governors of Hakodate.

It would appear from native accounts that the captains of the foreign men-of-war expressed much sympathy with the cause. The circumstances under which Yezo had been taken possession of were placed before them in such terms that they said that the colonization of Yezo must be beneficial; and if a letter to the Government were prepared on the subject, they would take care of it and obtain its presentation to the Government.

A memorial was therefore placed in their hands, of which the following is an abridgement :—

“Since the fall of our master's house last summer your measures of assistance to save the clan from starvation were heard by us with gratitude higher than the mountains and deeper than the ocean. But the retainers of Tokugawa during more than two hundred years have numbered more than three hundred thousand persons, and the revenue of seven hundred thousand kokus, which you have appropriated to our chief, is insufficient to support all these.

“Men who have the hearts of samurai cannot turn into farmers or merchants, so that it appeared that there was nothing for us but to starve. But, considering the uncultivated condition of the island of Yezo, we thought it better to remove thither, that, even under the endurance of every hardship, we might level steep mountains, cultivate the desert, and employ hitherto useless people in useful work, and thus requite one millionth part of your benevolence.

"Accordingly, we formerly petitioned you with tears in our eyes that we might obtain such a grant; but failing, it seemed that the three hundred thousand of our clansmen must surely starve. For this reason we sailed from Shinagawa Bay in the tenth month of last year; and we have arrived here in order to emulate each other in the cultivation of the region; and to be the guard of the northern gate.

"On application to SHIMIDZUDANI JIJU (Governor of Hakodaté) he would not listen to us, but simply viewing us as a band of robbers, attacked us. Matsumai clan also murdered our messenger; and for these reasons we were obliged to put aside these men. The farmers and merchants are unmolested, and live without fear, going their own way, and sympathising with us; so that already we have been able to bring some land into cultivation.

"We pray that this portion of the Empire may be conferred upon our late lord, TOKUGAWA KAMENOSUKE; and in that case, we shall repay your beneficence by our faithful guardianship of the northern gate."

The memorial, addressed to Daijokuan was duly presented. The Government, however, looked upon it as adding insult to injury, and rejected its prayer. But this and subsequent events belong to the year 1869.

The occurrences of the year 1868 occupy a large space; and yet, as I look back, I call to mind many that are omitted because they had no direct bearing upon foreign intercourse, but which, if recorded, would add greatly, not only the completeness, but to the interest, of the narrative.

The last political event of 1868 was the summoning to Tokio, of the daimio of Aizu and his son (adopted from the sons of Mito and brothers of KEIKI), and of the princes of Sendai, Yonezawa and other chieftains of the North. RINNOJI-NO-MIYA also returned to Tokio, and was ordered to place himself in confinement in the yashiki of FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA at Kioto.

The imperial paper money during the last months of

the year was pretty heavily circulated in the south. The daimios who had aided the Government, finding their funds running low, obtained loans from Government—in paper money. The expenses of the Mikado's progress from Kioto to Tokio were paid—in paper money. A demand was made on merchants both in Tokio and Yokohama for contributions towards the national expenditure, and that too, of a very arbitrary character, but it was not met so liberally as had evidently been expected. In fact, the country was in the sulks; for though the common people said little, their sympathies were entirely with the old *régime*. Had the matter been left to a *plebiscite*, and no pressure of any kind been put upon the voters, it is more than probable that there would not have been a single vote for the change, except in the territories of the chiefs who have been mentioned as most prominent in bringing it about.

Since the fall of Wakamats', the minds of foreigners, having no daily rumours of the fluctuations of the civil war to feed upon, were directed to the probabilities of the speedy opening of Yedo and Niigata; and on the 24th December, the British Minister issued a notification stating that they would be opened on 1st of January 1869.

CHAPTER XXV.

1869.

YEDO AND NIIGATA OPENED.—EMPEROR RECEIVES ALL FOREIGN MINISTERS AND MANY FOREIGN OFFICERS.—IMPERIAL CLEMENCY TO ALL WHO HAD BEEN IN REBELLION.—HIS MAJESTY GOES AFLOAT FOR THE FIRST TIME.—RETURN TO KIOTO.—LETTER OF SIR H. PARKES TO THE ENGLISH FOREIGN OFFICE.—JAPANESE OFFICIALS TAKE DR. MATS'MOTO OUT OF A FOREIGNER'S HOUSE WHILST A VISITOR.—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THEIR ERROR AND RESTITUTION.—KINSATS' MADE LEGAL CURRENCY IN TOKIO.—GOVERNMENT FEARS AS TO RUSSIA IN SAGHALIEN.—NEUTRALITY PROCLAMATION WITHDRAWN, AND THE 'STONEWALL' HANDED OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT.—DAIMIOS VISIT YOKOHAMA.—VIOLENCE OF RONINS IN KIOTO.—MURDER OF YOKOI HEISHIRO.—ABOLITION OF "SHITANIRO." KIDO JUNICHIRO.—HIS ANTECEDENTS.—HIS SCHEME OF GOVERNMENT CENTRALIZATION.—OBTAINS CHOSHII'S ASSENT TO HIS PROPOSAL THAT DAIMIOS RETURN THEIR TERRITORIES TO THE EMPEROR.—CONFERENCE WITH OKUBO.—THE LEADING DAIMIOS ASSENT, AND KIDO DRAWS UP A MEMORIAL TO THE EMPEROR, WHICH THEY SIGN AND PRESENT.—A "PARLIAMENT" ASSEMBLED.—THE MEMORIAL REFERRED TO IT FOR DISCUSSION.—THE RESULT FAVOURABLE.—MIKADO'S RETURN TO TOKIO.—THE "SHIMPEI" ENDEAVOUR TO DISSUADE HIM FROM LEAVING KIOTO, AND FAILING ACCOMPANY HIM TO TOKIO.—THE IMPERIAL MESSAGE ON OPENING "PARLIAMENT."—GOOD EFFECTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS.—CLOSE OF THE YESO TROUBLES.

THE past year, 1868, had been one of constant excitement throughout its whole course; and the energies of the Government had been taxed to the utmost to provide

the sinews of war. No good could be accomplished whilst the rebellion lasted ; but schemes were already being formed in the minds of the leading men in office which only awaited the day of peace for their promulgation and developement.

That day had now come ; for the Government did not look upon the raid of YENOMOTO as a part of the rebellion, but as a piratical expedition, undertaken independently by the officers and crews of the Tokugawa fleet and of the "runaway soldiers" of OTORI KEISUKE, against the will, and contrary to the instructions, of the chief of their clan.

They had already seen the advantage as well as the necessity of having foreigners for their friends, and nothing that could be done towards extending and cementing amicable intercourse was neglected.

On the 1st of January 1869, Yedo and Niigata were opened for trade and residence.

But the 4th and 5th days of January witnessed what may be considered the first of the systematic departures from old customs which followed upon the Emperor's taking up his abode in the ancient castle of the Tycoons in Tokio. At Kioto in the previous spring three foreign representatives had been admitted to audience, under exceptional circumstances ; but now all the representatives of Treaty powers were invited to visit the Mikado, and on the two days named, they were successively received, accompanied by members of their legations and by naval and military officers. The foreign ministers were afterwards entertained at a banquet by the imperial ministers. This invitation emanated exclusively from the Court itself, without any external pressure, and was universally looked upon, not simply as a foretaste of the improved intercourse about to be established, but also as a proof that the sovereign's advisers had come to the

conclusion that the screen behind which His Majesty had hitherto been obscured, might now be safely removed.

Another proof was given a few days later of the confidence the Government felt in its position. It was strong enough to be generous. The case of the daimios who had been in rebellion was submitted to an assembly of daimio's officers, who decided that all deserved death, but that for Aidzu, as the ringleader, "death was insufficient to expiate his guilt."

His Majesty, however, tempered justice with mercy. His language might aptly be that of the potentate of old, who, when asked to sanction the death of one who had "cursed the Lord's anointed," replied:—"Shall there any man be put to death this day in Israel? for do not I know, that I am this day king over Israel?"

General expectation among the Japanese had viewed the sentence of capital punishment as a certainty; and it was with a feeling of intense relief, not unaccompanied by a sense of gratitude, that they heard the Emperor's decision. In no single case was death decreed. Aidzu and his son were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and entire confiscation of their territorial possessions. The others were ordered into confinement or retirement, with partial confiscation of their domains. Even these punishments were subsequently relaxed; and toward the end of the year the prince of Aidzu was pardoned and provided with an estate of thirty thousand koku, at Tonami in the province of Oshiu; nominally, for the purposes of the ancestral sacrifices; really, that there might be some provision for the clansmen, who, on the confiscation of their lord's property, were reduced to the deepest poverty.

On the 10th January His Majesty visited the Fusiyama and another of his men-of-war in Shinagawa Bay. This was the first time he ever stepped on ship board.

The primary object of the imperial visit to Tokio, had now been accomplished. He had convinced his subjects of his personal assumption of power, and of his enfranchisement from old restraints. He had shown himself at least unto many, if not absolutely to all. He therefore, according to the programme arranged before leaving Kioto, now set out on his return thither, promising the good citizens of Tokio, that he would be with them again in the spring. The reasons given for his return were twofold :—first, his marriage with the daughter of ICHJŌ Sadaijin, which was to be solemnized before the end of the Japanese year (10th February, 1869); second, that he might celebrate the obsequies of his deceased father, the late Mikado, on the 6th February; and “he wished to make his success known at the ancestral temple.”

The following dispatch from the English Minister to Lord STANLEY, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will shew how these events were viewed by one who, beyond all others, had given the strongest support to the Mikado's Government, but who, likewise, was of all men, from his experiences in China, likely to notice any weaknesses or shortcomings in the imperial proceedings.

“Yokohama, January 26, 1869.

“My Lord,

“With reference to my dispatch of the 16th instant, reporting the intention of the Mikado to return to Kioto, I have now to add that, in fulfilment of this arrangement His Majesty left Yedo on the 20th instant.

“The ceremonies attending the departure of His Majesty were much simpler than those which inaugurated his entry into Yedo. All the Japanese vessels in the Bay of Yedo saluted His Majesty as he commenced his journey, and several corps of infantry accompanied him to the outskirts of the city; but after these marks of respect had been paid, it was observed that His Majesty

pursued his journey with an escort of not more than 400 or 500 men, and that an ordinary obeisance was all they, the people, were required to observe as he passed.

"I must confess, my Lord, to a feeling of some admiration on observing the sensible and unostentatious way in which this Sovereign—accustomed to think of himself and a long time of ancestors as demi-gods—addresses himself, upon the advice of his councillors, to the practical duties of his new station. No attempt at compromise between his former pseudo-sacred and his present secular position appears to be attempted. The object aimed at seems to be that he shall be known as a Sovereign possessing no exceptional or unnatural attributes, but charged with the welfare of some millions of his fellow beings, whose interests he is to watch over by the aid of national advisers.

"A few days before his Majesty left Yedo, I witnessed his embarkation in a small steam yacht of very moderate dimensions, in order to inspect the few Japanese ships then lying in the bay. One of the ships he visited got up steam, and conveyed His Majesty a short distance round the bay. I believe this to have been the first time that he had been afloat, and the step involved a marked innovation on previous practice, and even some disregard of native superstition. It seems to be the wish of the Government to prepare the minds of the people for the contingency of their Sovereign going afloat; and on the occasion of his recent departure from Yedo, an order was sent to the different daimios, of which I enclose a translation in which it is stated or implied that he would have proceeded by sea in order to accomplish his journey within a certain time, if his yacht had been ready to convey him.

"The progress of the Mikado from Kioto to Yedo evidently occasioned anxiety to those who were responsible for his safety, and the people looked on with doubt as to the result. The experience thus gained seems to have effectually allayed both alarm and surprise, as the return journey appears to have been undertaken without effort, and without awakening public excitement. His Majesty will, doubtless, be free in future to travel either by sea or land to any point of his dominions."

I have, &c.,
(Signed) HARRY PARKES,

Order issued by the Mikado.

"His Majesty desires to inform his Ancestral Tombs of the success gained in the pacification of the east and north. He returns to Kioto without his yacht having been got ready, but as the ceremonies connected with the late Emperor's death, take place on the 6th February next, there is no longer sufficient time for him to reach Kioto; he will therefore dispatch an Imperial Envoy to convey his communication, and will pay a special visit to the temple in person after the new year.

"12th month (January, 1869.)"

By order,

(Signed)

KO SEI KWAN.

On the 19th January the Japanese officials of Yokohama put themselves temporarily in a false position, by entering the house of a British subject, Mr. HARE, and dragging therefrom a Japanese subject, Dr. MATS'MOTO, who was staying with Mr. HARE as a visitor. Dr. MATS'MOTO, one of the most learned men at that time in Japan, and essentially progressive in all his ideas, had received his medical education at the Dutch Hospital, Nagasaki; and having exhibited more than average ability, he became the private physician of the last deceased Tycoon and of his successor. He was said to have amassed wealth very rapidly. On the outbreak of the war he naturally espoused the cause of his own chief, and went north to render aid to the wounded of the northern party. He did not, however, confine his good offices to them, for he equally ministered to the relief of the wounded of the other side whenever he could reach them. When the civil war terminated, he returned to Tokio, and was offered by Government an appointment of 500 rios (dollars) a month which he refused on the ground that it would look like deserting his old friends in their calamity. This led to his persecution by the Government; but from this he was relieved by the good judgment of Sir HARRY PARKES: who, in the repre-

sentations made to the authorities took care to require an acknowledgment of the wrong done by their subordinates in acting as they had done in an Englishman's house. At the same time he sanctioned his being handed over to his friends for safe custody, instead of being set free altogether, only to be arrested in a more legal manner. So the affair blew over. This Dr. MATS'MOTO is the same as is so well-known and highly respected in Tokio at the present day.

On the 21st January, the *kinsats*', Government paper money, was made legal currency in Tokio, as it had already been in the south for some time. All sorts of evil prognostications were expressed; but for several years they passed freely at par, although, instead of being redeemed they were multiplied; and it is only within the last four years that they have been at a discount.

The Government, now especially, but by no means for the first time, began to feel anxious regarding the proceedings of Russia in Saghalien, and events have shown that their apprehensions were not ill-founded.

Previous to the departure of the Emperor for the south, IWAKURA (now Udaijin) was sent to Yokohama to request the foreign ministers, now that the civil war was ended, to withdraw their neutrality proclamations. The ministers after a few days' consultation among themselves assented, and the ironclad Stonewall was handed over to the Government.

The sight of daimios parading the streets of Yokohama, was as yet an uncommon one, and made some stir among the community when it occurred. In January the Prince of Awa visited us, and witnessed a review of the 10th regiment; but a few weeks later he was followed by the prince of Bizen, who came quite privately and was driven by a gentleman in his carriage, about the settlement, visiting such residents as he had a fancy to, without any

public notice being drawn to the fact that such a man was among us. Yet only a year before, it was for merely crossing the path of the retinue of some of his high officers, that his troops attacked foreigners ; which led to the arming of all foreigners in Kobé, the landing of the marines from the men-of-war, the decapitation of the officer who had ordered the attack ; and ultimately to the declaration of the party in possession of the Mikado, in favour of the faithful observance of Treaty obligations.

The Government were very dilatory in taking steps to recover Yeso. The object they had in view in ordering the Tokugawa clan to suppress its own men in the northern island, was to avoid bloodshed ; for, it was argued, that the obedient portion of the clan, under one of the old house, would be able to persuade their fellow clansmen to lay down their arms, and not fight against the chief whom they professed to acknowledge. The reason, too, why KEIKI's offer was rejected was, that the rebels might take him and force him to be their ruler in Yeso ; and that if successful in this, it would inevitably follow, that the loyal men would join the disaffected, and thus difficulties would be multiplied.

Although the civil war was ended, Kioto was anything but quiet, and in February and March, even during the Emperor's residence there, accounts of the violence of the ronins constantly reached us. Among them was one that proved to be too true, that YOKOI HEISHIRO, one of the *sanyo*, a man who was represented to foreigners as being one of the most prominent and earnest reformers, had been attacked and murdered on his way from the palace. A pistol was fired at his norimon, and several men instantly rushed upon it with drawn swords. A man in such a position is palpably helpless. He drew his short sword and tried to defend himself, but

as he was getting out of the vehicle his head was severed from his body with a single blow, and carried away. It was afterwards recovered. The real motives for this deed remain in doubt; some declaring that they were based upon his advanced liberal opinions, others that an idea was entertained of his being favourable to Christianity. Although the perpetrators of the deed escaped at the time, they were subsequently caught and decapitated.

In April the Mikado set forth once more for Tokio; but a month previous to his doing so a proclamation was issued abolishing the custom of clearing the road for the nobles, and making the people bow down, as they passed, with the cry of '*shitaniro*.'

Again I must go back a little in point of time.

It has been previously remarked that much of the change now about to take place, was brought about by the lack of money. The base coinage and paper money of the daimios have been alluded to, as well as the fact that in order to pay its way, and enable friendly daimios to pay theirs, the Government had issued inconvertible paper money, making it a legal tender. But with all this it was impossible to make both ends meet. The large revenues of the Tokugawa family were insufficient; and it was absolutely necessary that the taxation of the country should be in the hands of the Government. Now there was among the *komon* or advisers of the Sosaï, a Choshu man named KIDO JIUNICHIRO, who had been very active throughout all the events in which the clan had been engaged, as recorded in the first part of this narrative. He was at the same time one of the cleverest swordsmen and one of the best scholars of his clan; and his energy and patriotism were alike unbounded. For instance, when the fort was being constructed at

Kanagawa, the samurai of the several clans were forbidden to enter. He disguised himself and worked as a coolie in order that he might make himself acquainted with the plan of the interior. In Kioto he became acquainted with many famous men; and on the occasion of the Choshu attack on the *Dairi*, when his fellow clansmen fled to their own country, he secretly remained, to watch the proceedings of the Government and to gather intelligence for his comrades. He went through many dangers, and adopted many disguises, at one time even becoming the companion of gamblers and drunkards to accomplish his ends. The reconciliation of the Satsuma and Choshu clans, was, in the first instance, brought about by a Tosa man named SAKAMOTO. He spoke to SAIGO, OKUBO and other Satsuma men who were favourable, and OYAMA and KURODA went to KIDO's yashiki, and arranged the matter with him on behalf of the CHOSHU clan. Such a man as KIDO, then, could not be passed over in forming a Government which he had been so instrumental in bringing about, and he, GOTO SHOJIRO of the Tosa clan, and KOMATSU TATEWAKI of the Satsuma, were appointed the three advisers of the SOSAI—probably the most important among all the new appointments, inasmuch as it rested with them to give or refuse the imperial assent to all measures proposed in the other departments of state.

KIDO had realised in his own mind the absolute necessity for centralization. Under the old system the difficulties of carrying out requisite reforms—not at first contemplated but now forcing themselves under the notice of the officials, and peremptorily requiring to be dealt with—appeared to be insurmountable. That system must therefore be cleared away root and branch; for feudalism and constitutionalism could not exist together.

It was like a new revelation to him; and he saw clearly the opposition the proposal he would have to make would be likely to provoke—for it was nothing more nor less than the utter abandonment of the feudal system, by the daimios surrendering their territories to the Mikado, with all their feudal rights, the state taking over at the same time their responsibilities. It was a suggestion that anyone might hesitate to offer; for power is sweet; and each of these daimios had exercised a kind of sovereignty in his own dominions which it would be very hard to part with. But with Kido, to see the path of duty was to walk in it. Bringing himself to the conclusion that there was no other way of successfully carrying on the work they had commenced, he determined to sound his own daimio, the lord of Choshu first. He went to Yamaguchi, therefore, where MORI DAIZEN-NO-DAIBU was residing, and, explaining the obstacles that feudalism placed in the way of progress, asked him plainly to set the example of returning his domain. He was listened to with attention. His lord was for a while silent, and not altogether unagitated. But after some time occupied in thought, he finally said—"All right! Act as you think best." Kido, although well knowing his chieftain's patriotism, had hardly expected such speedy and decisive acquiescence. He retired with tears in his eyes, overwhelmed with gratitude. After he had left the room, the lord stood musing awhile; and then calling him back, said:—"I have already agreed to your proposal; but the spirits of the samurai are excited by their late successes. You must be careful how you mention it, lest some opposition be raised. Watch, therefore, for a favourable opportunity." His gratitude rendered him speechless, and he once more retired.

Kido now felt more confident of gaining his end. On

his return to Tokio, he called upon OKUBO, and after discussing the national affairs at some length, and finding that OKUBO, equally with himself, recognised the impracticability of working the Government with such impediments as were offered at every step by feudalism, he told him of his plan ; of his interview with CHOSHII ; and of his success. OKUBO, though surprised to hear of the ready acquiescence of CHOSHII, saw in the fact the probability of a similar patriotism on the part of his own lord, SATSUMA, and ultimately of all the daimios.

And so this sweeping change was effected, to which, after mentioning a few other current events, I will shortly return.

In accordance with the Emperor's promise on assuming the reins of power, steps had been already taken to inaugurate a Representative Assembly—representative, however, not of the people at large, but of the samurai alone. Two hundred and seventy six members were appointed to attend, most of whom had reached Tokio in time for the opening of the Assembly, early in May, previous to the arrival of the Mikado on his return from Kioto.

His Majesty left the old metropolis for his second visit to his Governmental capital on the 18th April. On this occasion his departure was obstructed by a large party of the *shimpei*—soldiers recruited from many sources as a body guard for the Mikado in Kioto. Their idea was that they were “especially imbued with ‘the ancient spirit of Japan’; and their creed—‘devotion to the Mikado and death to the foreign barbarians.’” These men, then, threw themselves in his path, imploring him not to leave the sacred city, nor pollute himself by intercourse with foreigners ; and, when His Majesty was deaf to their entreaties they said there was nothing left for them but

to accompany him, and protect his person. As they were some 2,000 strong, ready enough with their trenchant blades, they were allowed to have their way; and so they came trooping to the capital.

His Majesty reached the castle on the 9th May. He found the Assembly in full discussion. It was purely a deliberative body, without any kind of power. At the opening, on the 18th April, an Imperial message had been read to the House, of which I give Mr. MITFORD's translation as transmitted by Sir H. PARKES to Lord CLARENDON:—

“Being on the point of visiting our Eastern Capital, we have convened the nobles of our Court, in order to consult them upon the means of establishing the foundations of peaceful government. The laws and institutions are the bases of Government. The petitions of the people at large cannot be lightly decided. It has been reported to us that brief rules and regulations have been fixed upon for the Parliament, and it seems good to us that the House should be opened at once. We exhort you to respect the laws of the House; to lay aside all private and selfish considerations; to conduct your debates with minuteness and firmness: above all things to take the laws of our ancestors as a basis. Adapt yourselves to the feelings of men, and to the spirit of the times. Distinguish clearly between those matters which are of immediate importance and those which may be delayed; between things which are less urgent and those which are pressing. In your several capacities argue with careful attention. When the results of your debates are communicated to Us, it shall be Our duty to confirm them.”

In this Assembly the subjects for discussion were to be introduced either by the Government, by one of the members, or by any Japanese even though he was not a member of the House.

It cannot be denied that the appointment of this Assembly had one good effect—certain very important

questions were taken in hand by it, instead of being left to the decision of individuals. The "foreign question," for instance. Those at the head of affairs had undoubtedly obtained the adherence of some of the clans, by promising the ousting of foreigners and closing of the ports. From the time of the BIZEN difficulty it had been rendered clear that this part of the programme would have to be altered, and it was changed there and then. The result was, as all who have followed this narrative attentively will have seen, that the very clans who had engaged to lead the van against foreigners, became their firmest friends; and it was well that a "parliament" had been established, to whom the responsibility in this matter was transferred. As it was, however, the parties for and against foreigners were so nicely balanced, that the measure in their favour was carried by the barest majority possible.

The land now had peace, and I return to the great measure that KIDO had proposed, and in which OKUBO, GORO, and ultimately all his colleagues, acquiesced.

Representations were cautiously made to SATSUMA, TOSA, UWAJIMA, and other daimios; and, some with readiness, some with reluctance, agreed to give in their adhesion. A memorial, drawn up by KIDO, was signed by the daimios who had been most active in the revolution; after which the other princes were in a manner bound to follow suit. The subjoined is a translation by Mr. MITFORD, which I take from the Blue Book of "Affairs in Japan 1868-70."

Memorial of the Daimios of the West.

"In the humble opinion of certain ministers (i.e., in our opinion) the Great Body (the Imperial Government) must not lose a single day, the Great Strength must not delegate its power for a single day. Since the Heavenly Ancestors established the foundations of the country, the Imperial line has not failed for ten thousand ages.

Heaven and Earth (i.e., Japan) are the Emperor's : there is no man who is not his retainer : this constitutes the Great Body. By the conferring of rank and property the Emperor governs his people : it is his to give and his to take away : of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land : of our own selves we cannot take a single man : this constitutes the Great Strength. In ancient times the Emperor governed the Sea-girt Land, and trusting to the Great Body and the Great Strength, the Imperial wisdom of itself ruled over all : truth and propriety being upheld, there was prosperity under heaven. In the middle ages the ropes of the net were relaxed, so that men toying with the Great Strength and striving for the Power, crowded upon the Emperor : and half the world tried to appropriate the people and to steal the land. Beating, and gnawing, and theft, and rapine, were the order of the day. When the Great Body that should have been preserved, and the Great Strength that should have been maintained were gone, there were no means left for repressing these evils. Traitors encouraged one another until the strong preyed upon and devoured the weak. The chief traitors annexed province upon province (literally, tens of provinces), while the lesser maintained several thousand retainers. Upon this arose the Bakufu (Government of the Shoguns), which also divided territories and men, as seemed good to it, among private individuals, thus planting and defending its own power. Thus it was that the Emperor wore an empty and a vain rank, and, the order of the things being reversed, looked up to the Bakufu as the dispenser of joy or sorrow. For more than 600 years the waters turned from their course have flooded the land and reached to heaven. During this time the Bakufu borrowed the name and authority of the Emperor to conceal the traces of thefts of lands and men, being forced to use the Imperial name as a blind, because the relations and duties of the vassal to his lord cannot be laid aside after ten thousand years. Now the great Government has been newly restored, and the Emperor himself undertakes the direction of affairs. This is indeed a rare and mighty event. We have the name (of an Imperial Government) we must also have the fact. Our first duty is to illustrate our faithfulness and to prove our loyalty. When

the line of Tokugawa arose it divided the country amongst its kinsfolk, and there were many who founded the fortunes of their families upon it. They waited not to ask whether the lands and men that they received were the gift of the Emperor ; for ages they continued to inherit these lands until this day. Others said that their possessions were the prize of their spears and bows, as if they had entered storehouses and stolen the treasure therein, boasting to the soldiers by whom they were surrounded that they had done this regardless of their lives. Those who enter storehouses are known by all men to be thieves, but those who rob lands and steal men are not looked upon with suspicion. How are loyalty and faith confused and destroyed !

“ Now that men are seeking for an entirely new Government, the Great Body and the Great Strength must neither be lent nor borrowed.”

“ The place where we live is the Emperor's land, and the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own ? We now reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws down to the rules for uniform, and the construction of engines of war, all proceed from the Emperor ; let all the affairs of the empire great and small be referred to him. After this, when the internal relations of the country shall be upon a true footing, the empire will be able to take its place side by side with the other countries of the world. This is now the most urgent duty of the Emperor, as it is that of his servants and children. Hence it is that we, in spite of our own folly and vileness, daring to offer up our humble expression of loyalty, upon which we pray that the heavenly sun may shine, with fear and reverence bow the head and do homage, ready to lay down our lives in proof of our faith.”

His Majesty replied to the Memorial that it should be debated in Council. The Assembly held a special debate

on the subject, and it was agreed that all the daimios ought to fall into the arrangement, and should be invited to do so. In the course of a few months nearly all of the princes had sent in similar memorials, and the scheme was adopted. The daimiates were converted into Han or provinces, of which in each case the former chief was appointed the Chiji or Governor. It was arranged that the revenues hitherto appertaining to them for the support of their retainers and state, should go to the Mikado, who should take over the responsibility of providing for the samurai; and that each daimio should receive an income for his personal and family expenditure amounting to one tenth of his former revenues. On the measure being formally sanctioned by the Emperor, it was ordered that the Princes should return to their territories and send in a statement of all their domains, ships, arms and other properties, made over to the crown.

It was quite recognised that the provision for the samurai would long be a heavy burden on the state; and I shall have to tell more than once of trouble arising from it.

At the close of April the Imperial fleet left Shinagawa Bay for Hakodaté. The ram *STONEWALL* was its chief hope; but she managed to get into difficulties within a day's sail from the anchorage, and the whole voyage up north was carried out in that desultory spirit which of old characterised all the movements of the Japanese. At length, when tidings ought to have come of the arrival at Hakodaté, one of the steamers returned with intelligence of a very narrow escape the *STONEWALL* had undergone, from capture. The Imperial fleet had anchored in Miako Bay, Sendai, ostensibly for the purpose of coaling, and most of the seamen were on shore 'on

the spree.' The Eagle, one of YENOMOTO's ships, steamed in, and if she had been in charge of competent officers, would certainly have taken the Stonewall. As it was the affair was muddled. The wooden steamer charged the ram stem on, and of course did herself more damage than she did her enemy. A scrimmage took place on the deck of the Stonewall, in which several lives were lost, and many men were wounded. It was a plucky affair on the part of the Eagle, but at last having done all the damage she knew how to do, she steamed out of the harbour, followed, as soon as the crews could be got on board and steam generated, by the Stonewall and the fleet. The Ashuelot, gunboat, had been waiting upon the Eagle, outside ; but by some mismanagement, she got ashore, and was captured with all hands. The Eagle made good her escape to Hakodaté, and the Imperial fleet shortly afterwards anchored at Awamori, a small port on the main island, opposite, and about sixty miles from, Hakodate.

The fall of Hakodaté was announced in Yokohama early in July. The defence by YENOMOTO, and the steady advance of the besiegers under a heavy fire, were equally worthy of admiration ; and foreigners who witnessed the final struggle from a safe distance spoke in highly eulogistic terms of the qualities of Japanese as soldiers. I cannot resist giving the following account of the final surrender, from native sources.

Having been beaten both by sea and land, the rebels now retained only Goriokaku, Chiyogaoka and Benten battery. The town of Hakokaté was in the hands of the *kuanguns*. Some of the ultra-zealous soldiers of Matsumai and Tsugaru, semi-barbarians as they were, fired into the hospital of the rebel wounded. An imperial officer, hurrying to the spot, upbraided them for their

cruelty in firing upon defenceless men. The patients were very grateful for this humanity; and one of the wounded officers wrote to YENOMOTO, saying:—

“ We were yesterday attacked by some of the *kuangun* army, and simply awaited our death, when a Satsuma samurai came to our protection, and not only stopped the inhuman attack, but caused us to be so taken care of by the *kuangun* surgeons that we have nothing of which to complain. Last night—about midnight—IKEDA and other four Satsuma officers visited us, and kindly said that we had exhibited the true samurai spirit, in maintaining our position even after the loss of our navy and the defeat of our army. But what will be said of us if we continue to resist TENCHO (the Mikado) whose desire is to spare us in our utmost calamity? They had heard our determination to die rather than surrender. But this was quite contrary to the imperial will, which desired to deal with us mildly and gently. They requested us to communicate this to our friends in Goriokaku and elsewhere. We would like, therefore, to know whether we may secure peace, or continue to fight.”

YENOMOTO and MATS'DAIRA TARO replied:—

“ We are really and truly grateful to IKEDA and his brother officers for their information. Our simple reason for coming here was, that we might cultivate the desert, and guard the northern gate, as formerly explained. Should our desire not be complied with, why should we leave this island? If the Emperor will kindly take pity upon us and give us a portion of this northern region, our men shall guard the northern gate to the death; whilst, for the crime of having opposed the Imperial army we two will gladly undergo capital punishment. Should this not be granted we will all be punished on the same pillow, and fight with all our might to the end. Please give this our answer to Mr. IKEDA.”

YENOMOTO also sent to the Imperial generals two volumes on naval tactics, in the Dutch language, from which he had studied when a naval student in Holland. They were very valuable, and not to be

obtained elsewhere in the Empire ; and he could not bear that they should be destroyed.

Subsequently a conference was held at Chiyogaoka between YENOMOTO and the Satsuma leader TAJIMA KEIZO, in which the utmost persuasion was used to induce the former to return to his allegiance ; the latter urging, with tears in his eyes, that it was a pity that such a brave man should perish. YENOMOTO thanked him for his kindness ; but courteously promised to meet him on the battle-field on the morrow.

Preparations were made for the approaching conflict. The houses in the neighbourhood were destroyed by fire, that there might be a clear field for fighting. But that very night some cowardly rebels stealthily crossed the moat on rafts that they had secretly constructed, and went over to the Imperial camp. It was proposed to pursue them ; but YENOMOTO said, "No ! If any one grudges his life he is of no use here ; let him go." And he ordered the gates to be thrown open.

On the 15th the men in the Benten battery were obliged to surrender, having come to the end of their provisions ; but of this YENOMOTO was not aware. The same day Chiyogaoka fell into the hands of the Imperial army, after furious fighting—the rebel leader and nearly all of his men being either killed or wounded.

On the 16th the *kuangun* leaders sent five tubs of *saké* and a letter to YENOMOTO, thanking him for his present of the work on naval tactics. A messenger was also sent once more to suggest a surrender, but one of the rebel officers, TAITO TATSUKICHI (NAKANO GOICHI, afterwards Governor of Yamaguchi Ken), received the messenger, thanked him for the intended kindness ; but stated that it was in vain. During the night, however, the news was received of the fall of Benten and Chiyogaoka ; and

YENOMOTO and MATSUDAIRA TARO addressing their companions, said :—" For the benefit of our master's house we have combined and fought many battles. But now soldiers from more than sixty provinces surround us. It is useless to fight and lose all our lives, Instead of this, we two will commit suicide to secure the imperial pardon for you."

They drew their swords, about to perform *harakiri* ; but they were prevented by OTSUKA KAKUNOJO and others, and after much discussion it was decided, greatly to the grief of the samurai, that it was better that the President YENOMOTO and the Vice President MATSUDAIRA TARO, should formally surrender, to save the rest.

This proposal was sent to the *kuangun* camp ; and KURODA and NAKAYAMA, two of the imperial commanders, appointed Chiyogaoka as the place for receiving them. On the 18th, YENOMOTO KAMAJIRO, MATSUDAIRA TARO, ARAI IKUNOSUKE, OTORI KEISUKE, and others made their submission, requesting that their punishment might be hastened. They were shortly afterwards conveyed as prisoners to Yedo ; and though their sentences were exemplary, not one was put to death. Ultimately all were pardoned. There is hardly one among them who is not to-day in some important government office. YENOMOTO himself has lately been residing in St. Petersburg as Japanese Ambassador to the Russian Court ; from whence he has returned on leave of absence ; and he is at present employed in the Foreign Office here as Assistant Foreign secretary.

On leaving Shinagawa, YENOMOTO had with him M. Brunet, formerly of the French " Mission Militaire " whose pupils many of the Tokugawa soldiers had been. With M. Brunet were several Frenchmen, and amongst them were two midshipmen who had deserted at Yokohama from the *Minerve*. M. Brunet and his French

comrades, having had, as was alleged, a misunderstanding with YENOMOTO as to the plan of operations, left him before the final catastrophe, and were received on board the Coëtlogon gunboat and conveyed to Yokohama. The French minister would not allow them to land, and they were sent to Saigon, and subsequently to France, under arrest.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1869.

ABOLITION OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN KUGES AND DAIMIOS—ALL 'KUAZOKU.'—ANNOUNCEMENT BY SIR H. PARKES OF THE INTENDED VISIT OF THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.—REPLY, PLACING O HAMA GO-TEN AT HIS DISPOSAL.—DISCUSSIONS AS TO MODE OF RECEPTION.—TRIUMPH OF THE ONWARD PARTY.—THE PRINCE'S ARRIVAL.—LEVEE AT THE BRITISH LEGATION.—ADDRESS OF BRITISH RESIDENTS.—H.R.H. AT O-HAMA GO-TEN.—HIS GRATIFYING VISIT TO THE EMPEROR. ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA VISITS THE 'GALATEA,' AND ATTENDS A BALL AT THE ENGLISH LEGATION.—BANQUET TO ADMIRAL SIR H. KEPPEL.—THE DUKE LEAVES JAPAN.—TURBULENCE OF THE SHIMPEI—THEIR RETURN TO KIOTO.—MURDER OF OMURA MASUJIRO.—THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MISSION, AND THE TREATY.—OLD TIMES CONTRASTED WITH NEW.—H.E. MR. DE LONG'S SPEEDY AUDIENCE WITH THE MIKADO.—THE MIKADO PRESENTS HIS AUTOGRAPH TO THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.—WRITES AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—THE EMPRESS ARRIVES IN TOKIO.—LOCAL MATTER—DEATHS AND CASUALTIES.—MR. BRUNTON AND THE LIGHTHOUSE DEPARTMENT.—YOKOHAMA IMPROVEMENTS.—RAILWAYS AND TELEGRAPHS.—MR. IAY ARRANGES A FOREIGN LOAN FOR THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

It will now be observed how rapid are the changes.

On the 25th July an edict was issued abolishing the distinction between kugés and daimios—i.e., between

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the old Court nobles of Kioto and the territorial lords. Both titles were in future to be abandoned, and all were to be indiscriminately called *kuazoku* or nobles.

The next important affair that claims attention is the reception accorded by the Mikado to a foreign prince. This was a matter of such difficulty that I shall tell the tale at length, as it will shew the resolute manner in which those who had begun a good work were determined to continue it to the end in spite of all opposition.

As soon as Sir HARRY PARKES had official information of the intended visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, to Japan, in command of H.M.S. Galatea, he mentioned the fact to the Japanese ministers. A couple of months later he received a note from the Japanese Foreign Office, as under :—

July 15th, 1869.

SIR,—His Majesty the Emperor, having been apprised that your honourable country's Prince, on his tour to many countries of the East, also intends visiting Japan, has been delighted beyond measure ; and, although our country can offer but poor hospitality, His Majesty would be intensely pleased if your Prince would consent to take up his abode in the gardens of O Hama-go-ten, the seaside palace of His Majesty.

Will Your Excellency be so good as to report this [to His Royal Highness] on arrival ?

(Signed) DATE CHIUNAGON,
Principal Minister for Foreign Affairs.
TERASHIMA SHI-I,
Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs.

To H. E. Sir. H. PARKES &c., &c.

A couple of months intervened, as I have said, between their receiving the communication from, and their writing to, His Excellency. But the interval had not arisen from forgetfulness or indifference. On the contrary the matter had been discussed warmly in all its different bear-

ings day by day. The question was, "how should the visit be noticed by the Mikado?" The "progressists" desired that His Majesty should once for all resolve to conform as far as possible to the usages of other sovereigns on such occasions; but a very strong "opposition" denounced, in strong terms, the Mikado's lowering his dignity by making any advance which could be regarded as an admission of equal rank between a foreign Prince of the Blood Royal, and the Imperial and heaven-descended family of Japan.

Sir HARRY PARKES very judiciously refrained from suggesting any particular mode of reception, being of opinion that whatever was done should be spontaneous.

The above letter was the first official communication he received on the subject—its contents showing the triumph of the onward party.

Each step gained increased the strength and confidence of the party, and became a new point of departure. The resolution that a residence should be placed at H. R. Highness's disposal, was followed by another of far greater importance—viz., that after the ordinary official reception at the Imperial palace, His Majesty should receive the Prince accompanied by the English minister, and a gentleman of the English Legation who should act as interpreter, in one of the Garden houses in the Imperial domain and converse with him on equal terms.

IWAKURA told Sir HARRY that "the reception of the Prince had caused the Government much anxious consideration. An intelligent majority, however, had seen that the occasion was one that should be profited by to mark their friendly feeling towards foreign Powers, and their readiness to promote more intimate relations with them, although at a sacrifice of old ideas and usages. In order, therefore, to receive the Prince in a manner

that would be acceptable to England, the Mikado would have to adopt a new etiquette; but it afforded them gratification to feel that these compliments would be paid in the first instance to an English Prince, and would form, therefore, some acknowledgment of the various proofs they had received of the goodwill of England and Her Majesty's Government."

The *Galatea* dropped anchor in Yokohama bay on Sunday the 25th August. Not, however, until the 31st, did the Prince hoist the Royal Standard on board the *Galatea*. Afloat he had contented himself with his rank as a Captain in the Royal Navy. But when, at 8 A.M. on the day named, the standard was unfurled, royal salutes were fired by all the men-of-war in harbour, and also by the Japanese fort at Kanagawa. The flag of the Mikado was afterwards saluted by H.M.S. *Galatea* with twenty one guns.

At 11 A.M. H.R. Highness landed in state, and proceeded to the English Legation on the Bluff, where he held a levée. It was attended by all the *Corps Diplomatique*, and by many officers of various nationalities. A deputation of twelve of the British community also presented an address, which bore the signatures of 250 of the English residents.

On the 1st of September the Prince took up his residence at O Hama-go-ten, and spent there a week that must have been agreeable to him, as well from the efforts that were made for his comfort and enjoyment, as from the novelty of everything he saw.

The occasion of H.R. Highness's reception by His Majesty was one that presented the Emperor in such a totally different position from any he or his predecessors had ever occupied before, that it is worth recording at length. Since that day other princes and distinguished men have been even more familiarly received; but that

was after the Court and the country had become so used to these innovations that they ceased to discuss them, and left His Majesty to act according to his own good will and pleasure on the advice of his ministers. The following, then, is the "Memorandum by Mr. MITFORD" sent to the English Foreign Office:—

"On the 4th September His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh had an audience of the Mikado.

"His Royal Highness was accompanied to the castle by Admiral the Honourable Sir HARRY KEPPEL, the Honourable ELIOT YORKE, and Lieutenant HAIG, Equerries to His Royal Highness; Commander ADEANE, Dr. WATSON, Lieutenant, ROMILLY, RAMSAY, and POORE, of Her Majesty's ship *Galatea*; and Mr. CHEVALIER. Sir HARRY PARKES, with Messrs. ADAMS, MITFORD, and VON SIEBOLD, also attended His Royal Highness.

"OHARA, one of the Commissioners appointed to receive the Duke of Edinburgh, was ordered by the Mikado to escort His Royal Highness to the Castle.

"On arriving at the castle His Royal Highness' carriage was driven through the third or innermost gate. All the other officers dismounted outside this gate, and the English mounted escort and guard of Marines, under the command of Captain BRYDGES, of Her Majesty's ship *Ocean*, drew up at the same spot.

"On alighting from his carriage, His Royal Highness was received by DATE CHIUNAGON, the Senior Commissioner appointed to conduct his entertainment; SAWA, the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and TOKUDAJI DAINAGON, who conducted him to a waiting-room.

"Here the Prime Minister, the ex-Prime Minister, and HIROBUKIO-NO-MIYA, a Prince of the Blood, paid their respects to His Royal Highness.

"After a short interval His Royal Highness was conducted by DATE CHIUNAGON to the Audience Chamber, where the Mikado stood on a raised dais, with two of his personal attendants and the Prime Minister. HIROBUKIO-NO-MIYA, together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and several other grandees of the Court, stood at the foot of the dais, at about six or eight feet from His Majesty.

"His Royal Highness, accompanied by his Inter-

preter, Mr. MITFORD, took his place upon the dais opposite to the Mikado; Her Majesty's Minister, with Admiral Sir HENRY KEPPEL and other officers accompanying His Royal Highness, stood at the foot of the dais, opposite to the dignitaries of the Japanese Court.

"His Majesty having spoken a few words of welcome, to which His Royal Highness returned a suitable reply, invited the Duke of Edinburgh to meet him again in a more private manner in the garden.

"The Duke then retired to the waiting-room.

"After another short delay, during which the grandees of the Court waited upon His Royal Highness to congratulate him upon his arrival at the capital, and upon his reception by their Sovereign, DATE CHUNAGON conducted the Duke to the maple tea-house in the castle gardens, where refreshments were served.

"As soon as the Mikado was reported to have arrived at the Waterfall Pavilion, His Royal Highness proceeded there, accompanied to the entrance of the pavilion by all the officers of his suite. Sir HARRY PARKES, Sir HENRY KEPPEL, and Mr. MITFORD entered the pavilion with His Royal Highness. At the verandah His Royal Highness was met by the Prime Minister, who ushered him into the presence. As His Royal Highness entered the room the Mikado, who was attended by five or six of his nobles only, besides the Prime Minister, rose and bowed courteously, begging His Royal Highness to be seated. Sweetmeats were laid before the Mikado and before the Duke of Edinburgh. The suites on both sides remained standing.

"The Mikado then said that it gave him the greatest pleasure to receive a Prince who had come from so distant a country, and begged that His Royal Highness would remain sufficiently long to repay himself for the fatigues of the journey.

"The Duke of Edinburgh expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at the cordial reception with which he had been met, and the pleasure which the intelligence of this visit would cause to Her Majesty the Queen.

"The Mikado assured His Royal Highness that it was a source of happiness to him to think that this auspicious visit would have the best effect in cementing the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

He felt that there would of necessity be many shortcomings in His Royal Highness' reception, but begged that the Duke would freely express any wish that might occur to him, in order that, if possible, he might have the pleasure of gratifying it.

"His Royal Highness said, that so far from being dissatisfied with his reception, it had exceeded his expectations. It had long been his desire to visit a country of which he had heard so much, and in the realization of this wish he had certainly not been disappointed. It was an additional pleasure to him to have this opportunity of congratulating the Mikado upon the personal resumption of the power which he had inherited from his ancestors. It would be highly gratifying to Her Majesty the Queen to learn that the troubles of last year had been succeeded by the restoration of peace.

"The Mikado stated that during the disturbed period through which the country had passed, his Government had received the greatest assistance from the advice and counsels of Sir HARRY PARKES, and he was glad to take so important an occasion of acknowledging this debt of gratitude, in order that the expression of his thanks might be conveyed to Her Majesty the Queen. He begged His Royal Highness to deliver this message to Her Majesty.

"The Duke of Edinburgh said that he should have much satisfaction in doing so.

"The Mikado having said a few words of welcome to Sir HARRY PARKES and to Sir HENRY KEPPEL, the Duke of Edinburgh rose and offered the Mikado a diamond-mounted snuff-box as a remembrance of his visit. The present having been gracefully accepted and acknowledged, the Duke of Edinburgh after a few more complimentary speeches took his leave.

"His Royal Highness was escorted to the castle gate by the same nobles who had met him on his arrival, and the Commissioner OHARA attended him to his residence.

"Later in the day the Prince of the Blood, HIROBUKIO-NO-MIYA, waited upon His Royal Highness to thank him for having visited the Mikado and to congratulate him upon the auspicious occasion. DATE CHIUNAGON was also

specially sent by the Mikado again to thank His Royal Highness for the handsome present which he had received."

The Duke of Edinburgh returned to Yokohama by sea on the 8th, and entertained on board the *Galatea*, HIROBUKIO-NO-MIYA, (ARISUGAWA) the principal minister of the war department, and several other important dignitaries. A few evenings later the Miya actually attended a dinner followed by a ball, which were given at the English Legation, in honour of the Prince. This was an innovation only a little less remarkable than the Imperial reception.

On the 14th, the Duke attended a public banquet given by the British residents to the gallant Admiral Sir HENRY KEPPEL, who was about to leave Japan on the expiry of his command in the China seas. On the 16th the *Galatea* left Yokohama, her Royal Captain declaring that nowhere had he found stronger feelings of loyalty and affection to the Queen and Royal family, than among his countrymen in this far-away land. As for himself, his genial and unaffected bearing won for him universal goodwill and respect.

The *Galatea* visited Kobé and Nagasaki, but the Prince could make but a short stay in either place.

Whilst the Emperor and his Government were thus improving foreign relations, it was all they could do to repress the turbulent spirit of the samurai. The victims of the newly inaugurated policy were not yet finished. After causing much anxiety in Tokio, a number of the *shimpei* who had accompanied His Majesty to Tokio were ordered back to Kioto under the command of OMURA MASUJIRO, who had commanded the loyal army in the battle at Uyéno. On the 8th October a number of these zealots broke into OMURA'S house and hacked him to pieces.

In the pocket of one of the assailants who was slain, a paper was found (as usual) stating that "OMURA had steadily conformed to foreign customs, and had thereby disgraced the national character of divine Japan; that he had arbitrarily introduced customs of the barbarians, and had remembered foreigners but forgotten his Emperor; that therefore he was to be executed and his head exposed as an example to posterity."

But the Government persevered. On the 2nd October two Austrian men-of-war arrived, in the course of a tour round the world in the interests of commerce. Admiral BARON VON PERZ, the head of the expedition, accompanied by other members of the Austro-Hungarian mission, proceeded to Tokio on the 7th, and was lodged at O Hama go-ten; on the 16th they were received by His Majesty, and, on the 18th, the anniversary of their departure from home, the Treaty between their Emperor-King and the Mikado was signed.

This was a striking contrast to anything that had been before experienced. Many months had always elapsed before a foreign minister had received an audience of the Tycoon. Oh, yes! it was plain enough that old things had passed away. And a further proof of it was given in the fact, that when, at the end of October, Mr. DE LONG, the new United States Minister, arrived, a fortnight did not elapse before he had his formal audience of the Emperor.

The Austrian Embassy brought many presents to His Majesty; amongst the rest, a valuable piano. Whether it has done anything towards reconciling the Imperial ear to foreign music is very doubtful. I have heard it reported more than once that the Empress was taking lessons on the piano—but I gave no credence to the statements.

When the Duke of Edinburgh was in Tokio he ex-

pressed a wish to have the Mikado's autograph; and His Majesty kindly sent it to him by the hands of the Prime Minister. Here again was a prodigious departure from old superstitions; for heretofore the autographs of the Mikados of Japan had been laid up as precious relics in the holiest of temples.

But on the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian treaty the Mikado went further still—he wrote an autograph letter to his “brother,” the Emperor of Austria. Never until now had any sovereign but the Emperor of China been similarly addressed by a Mikado.

On the 27th November the Empress arrived in Tokio. Quietly and unostentatiously she passed along the road; and had it not been that in Kioto itself an attempt had been made to prevent her leaving, which was dealt with in a very summary manner, the journey would have been altogether without incident.

Turning now to domestic matters among foreigners—two of the foreign Consular staff were taken from us by death, during the year—M. VIAULT, the French Consul at Kobé on the 25th January; and LACHLAN FLETCHER H. B. M. Consul at Yokohama, in July.

The P. M. S. S. Co.'s steamer Hermann was lost on the 18th February, on a reef off Kodzuru, about 21 miles north of Cape King. She had about 350 Japanese on board, besides her crew of 80 men. Two hundred and fifty of the passengers and crew were missing, but it never transpired whether any of them turned up afterwards. The mishap was at a spot less than a mile from shore, and all were reported to have had life-preservers.

This was followed on the 19th June by the loss of a fine steamer, the Hayo Maru, on the Plymouth Rocks, at the entrance of the gulf of Yedo. Amongst others who

perished in her, was 'Governor' Wainewright, a gentleman well known in China and San Francisco—one of the earliest settlers at Kobé, and the starter of the *Hiogo News*.

During the years 1868 and 1869 a second attempt was made to establish a newspaper in the Japanese language. This time it was in the city of Osaka, and its parent was Mr. JOHN HARTLEY, who with the aid of a young samurai of the Choshiu clan, brought it out at irregular intervals as Mr. BAILEY had done, but his paper was thought by some competent judges to be superior to that of his predecessor. Its name, the *Kak'oku Shimbunshi*, had precisely the same meaning as the former one—The All-countries' News, or The News of the World. It came to an end mainly through the mercantile business of Mr. HARTLEY absorbing his whole time and attention, and the inability of the Japanese to carry it on without his aid.

Among the concessions made by the Japanese Government during the year was one that seemed likely to assist commerce considerably. Copper, the sale of which to foreigners, except by Government, had been prohibited, was set free for export. It had been thought that a very large trade in this metal would arise, if its export were permitted, but the business in it has been fitful and irregular; and by no means equal to the anticipations.

I ought to have recorded the arrival, in August 1868, of Mr. R. H. BRUNTON, to superintend the erection of Lighthouses, which I have mentioned as having been determined upon, all round the coast. A Lighthouse Engineering Department was established at Benten, Yokohama, of which Mr. SAITO was the chief Japanese official and Mr. BRUNTON the Engineer in Chief. The whole was at the time, under the Governors of Kanagawa, one of whom, Mr. TERASHIMA exhibited the warmest interest in it; and it was mainly to his keen

appreciation of the value of these works when completed, that obtained for Mr. BRUNTON the necessary support in carrying them out. He also found a judicious counsellor under many preliminary difficulties, in Sir HARRY PARKES. I have already stated that, in 1866, Sir HARRY S. PARKES, was applied to by the Japanese Government to give his assistance to the work of Lighthouse construction on the coast. On his referring the matter to his Government, the Board of Trade undertook to procure the lighthouse apparatus required by the Japanese Government, and to appoint and send to Japan suitable persons to erect the Lighthouses, and to organize an efficient lighthouse system.

The Board of Trade engaged the services of Messrs. D. & T. STEVENSON, Engineers to the Commissioners of Northern Lights, Edinburgh, and these gentlemen designed and superintended the construction of all the apparatus which was sent to Japan. They also selected the Chief Engineer, and the artizans and lightkeepers who were sent out, the Board of Trade in each case approving the selection and making the appointment.

The original intention was to establish sixteen lights, two being light-ships, the rest light-houses. Of the latter three had already been completed under the superintendence of M. Verny, the French engineer-in-chief of the dockyard and arsenal in course of construction at Yokoska—twelve miles from Yokohama. These three were:—one on Kanonsaki, a headland jutting into the gulf of Yedo, a few miles below Yokoska; another at Kamisaki on the opposite side, and at the extreme entrance of the gulf. The third was on Noshima.

The remainder of the lights, besides beacons, buoys, &c., were to be now under the charge of the Lighthouse department; and Mr. BRUNTON set zealously to work to organise it, accomplishing this duty with an energy

and skill worthy of all praise. It was a task that none but 'those who knew' could have supposed to be crowded with so many difficulties. The workmen had all to be taught everything. The carpenters were adepts in their own style of work and with their own tools, and there was not much trouble with them; but masons, plumbers, and all other artizans had to be instructed from the very beginning. Then the rough seas around the coast rendered the visitation, and oftentimes the supplying, of the stations, a work of danger; so that the department, after having been content at the start with a small steamer of 400 or 500 tons, was obliged to look about for one more suitable for the work, and the Thabor, a steamer belonging to the Messageries Imperiales, was purchased for the service. This was rendered necessary by the fact that, to several of the proposed sites, everything had to be conveyed for the erection of the buildings as well as the sustenance of the workmen. As is invariably the case with the Japanese and their employes, after benefiting by the services of Mr. BRUNTON for some eight years, they dispensed with them, and placed the department under another, who may have been equally efficient—but that was not the reason of the appointment. It was fickleness, hidden under the mask of economy.

It is, however, to Mr. BRUNTON that Yokohama is indebted for the great improvement which was set about by the authorities in the course of the year 1869. In the spring, he laid a scheme for the drainage, and for road making in the settlement, and its approaches, before the Chiji or Governor, who caused it to be printed and published for the information of the public. It found favour with the community and was ultimately carried out; so that there has been little to complain of in respect to these matters since that day.

In addition to this scheme which was carried through, Mr. BRUNTON presented several others, all of which would have been of vast importance to the public, but which, after much vacillation on the part of the authorities, were not proceeded with. One was for the supply of good water to Yokohama; another for lighting the settlement at night; and the third was a fine harbour scheme, providing jetty accommodation, at which several ships of any size could discharge or take in cargo at the same time, and the frequent delays now occurring from the inclemencies of the weather, and from irregularity of cargo boat supply, would have been avoided.

Besides these, two other surveys of great importance were made under Mr. BRUNTON—the harbours of Osaka and Niigata. He gave plans for the improvement of both—but they were not carried out for want of money. The Government tried to improve Niigata in their own way; and, as a result, it is worse than before.

The year had been marked by great activity in building, and more edifices of some pretensions were erected during this twelve-months in Yokohama, than during any similar period since the port was opened.

I have left to the last the mention of two enterprises that had their incipience in this year—railways and telegraphs. The construction of the latter having been determined upon, the matter was put into the hands of Mr. BRUNTON, under the control of the Lighthouse department. An expert was sent for to England; and about the middle of the year Mr. G. M. GILBERT arrived, to superintend the making of the lines, and to initiate the Japanese into the working of them. He at once set to work, and at the close of 1869, the first instalment—that between Tokio and Yokohama—was nearly completed.

As for railways, it is probable that they would not have been so speedily undertaken but for the arrival of

Mr. HORATIO NELSON LAY, who was armed (as he declared) with authority to offer a loan to the Government, on behalf of a certain home capitalists. The negotiations between Mr. LAY and the Japanese officials were very cleverly managed. He kept his own counsel so far as foreigners were concerned: going to Tokio, in a quiet manner which forbade suspicion, accompanied only by Mr. WIRGMANN as his interpreter. When all was agreed upon, it transpired suddenly that he had effected a loan of one million pounds sterling to the Government at twelve per cent, repayable in twelve years. It subsequently transpired that the money was to be used in the formation of a railway between Tokio and Osaka, with a branch line to Yokohama; and that this line was to form part of the security to the lenders, who were further to have a lien on the Customs duties arising from the foreign trade at the open ports.

So that in many respects 1869 left its mark.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1870.

EVENTS BEGIN TO FLOW SMOOTHLY.—THE TELEGRAPH OPENED.—MR. LAY'S POSITION.—HE ENGAGES ENGINEERS, WHO ARRIVE, AND THE RAILWAY IS COMMENCED.—MR. LAY'S DIFFICULTY.—HE PLACES THE LOAN ON THE STOCK EXCHANGE.—THE CONSEQUENCES.—YOKOHAMA IMPROVEMENTS.—THE ENGLISH FLYING SQUADRON.—FATAL COLLISION BETWEEN THE 'BOMBAY' AND 'ONEIDA.'—COURT OF INQUIRY.—THE GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION OF BUDDHISTS AND NATIVE CHRISTIANS.—REMONSTRANCES OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS NOT AT FIRST SUCCESSFUL.—FIRST LAND SALE IN TSKIDJI.—THE BLUFF GARDENS, YOKOHAMA.—A SIGN OF THE TIMES.—BOILER EXPLOSION ON BOARD THE 'CITY OF YEDO.'—THE SATSUMA BAND.—DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND NORTH GERMAN MINISTERS.—REVIEWS OF TROOPS BY THE MIKADO.—EMPEROR'S RELATIVES VISIT FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—INCOMPETENCY OF DAIMIOS.—DISCONTENT SHEWS ITSELF AMONG THE SAMURAI.—SOME OF THEM TURN MERCHANTS AND FARMERS.—MARKED TRANSITION AND ADVANCE.

THE current of events now loses much of its torrent-like aspect, and begins to flow smoothly. Henceforth the country, although frequently disturbed in isolated dis-

tricts, is peaceably and orderly governed, and, on the whole, accepts the new condition of things, submissively if not altogether cheerfully.

I have mentioned that at the close of 1869, the telegraph was nearly completed between Yokohama and Tokio. On the 7th January the first message was transmitted through the wire, and on the 26th the line was opened for Japanese messages. It is remarkable that to this day messages in Japanese can be more cheaply sent than those in any foreign language.

As regards the railway, the arrangement made by Mr. LAY placed him in a very enviable position, and had it been carried through strictly he would have been a little potentate in the land. He was not only to supply the money, but he was to be the chief commissioner, and to have the appointment of all the engineers and other foreigners whom it would be necessary to employ, and the ordering of everything that had to be imported.

As soon as the agreement was signed, he commenced his reign by engaging Mr. MOREL, a gentleman of experience and ability, as Engineer-in-chief; and other gentlemen recommended by Mr. MOREL, as his subordinates. They arrived, with their wives and families, and lost no time in beginning the requisite surveys. It was determined to make a start with the line between Yokohama and Tokio; and before the end of the year the work had fairly commenced. Later on, the road between Hiogo and Osaka was surveyed and marked out; and surveyors were also examining the country between Osaka and Tokio, to decide upon the direction of the trunk line.

But Mr. LAY had undertaken too much. He represented himself as being, and no doubt honestly believed himself to be, the agent of certain capitalists in England, who were to advance the money. On reaching home,

however, those capitalists, not accepting his action as obligatory upon them, he found himself in a very perplexing position. He had bound himself to supply the money. He was therefore obliged to get it from another source. The rate of interest the Government was to pay was 12 per cent per annum. By the assistance of an eminent financing firm, the loan was placed on the London Stock Exchange, at 98, bearing interest at 9 per cent. Here, in itself, was a pretty little profit—for though the present loss in floating the loan stood at £20,000, the first year's difference of interest between 12 and 9 per cent would amount to £30,000,—thus leaving a profit of £10,000 in his hands, with the whole difference of interest during the remaining years.

It was very quickly seen by the Japanese Government, that the position thus assumed by Mr. LAY, was not such as was contemplated when the agreement was made. They therefore sent an officer, Mr. WOYENO, to England, and the matter was arranged on a totally different footing, Mr. LAY's connection with the Government ceasing altogether. The Oriental Bank again came to the assistance of the Government; and thenceforward, all the business connected with the railway passed through their hands, or under their supervision. Mr. W. W. CARGILL one of the most experienced of the Bank's managers, a gentleman who had done it good service in a memorable crisis in India, was sent out to aid the local manager in case he required assistance in arranging the Government business on the spot; and as Director of the railway on behalf of the Bank.

At the close of 1869 a most mysterious murder was committed in Yokohama, the victim being a very old resident, but of somewhat testy and overbearing manners towards Japanese—Mr. HOEX. He had recently erected, (on the site once occupied by the English Legation, and

now covered by the extensive buildings of the Grand Hotel), a large three-storied house. It was barely finished, and, at any rate, was as yet tenantless. In an out-building in the compound he occupied two small rooms, living entirely by himself; the only other person on the premises being a Japanese boy, who occupied a room in a separate building, and acted as a kind of servant of all work. On the discovery of the murder by some who went to the place the next morning, this boy was found in the kitchen, securely bound. He reported, on being loosed, that two men had entered his room, bound him, and one stood over him with a drawn sword, to prevent his crying out whilst the other went to Mr. HOEY's room. The light was so imperfect from the Japanese lamp, and their faces so concealed by handkerchiefs, that he could not possibly recognise them, even if they were brought before him.

On the 22nd January, one TETSUGORO was captured. He confessed to having been an accomplice in the murder, and said that on the 27th December he met in Yokohama, an old acquaintance named SEIKITCHI, who asked him to meet him that night on the bridge close to HOEY's house. Having kept the appointment at midnight, SEIKITCHI told him that he wanted him to assist in taking revenge on Mr. HOEY for a severe beating he had given SEIKITCHI when in his service four years before. TETSUGORO demurred; but SEIKITCHI used threats, and compelled him to accompany him. They climbed over the fence into the compound, and, first going to the boy's room, bound him. He then kept guard over the boy to prevent his giving any alarm, whilst SEIKITCHI dispatched the master. This done, they made off in separate directions, and he had not seen SEIKITCHI since. TETSUGORO died in prison; and to this day the other murderer has never been taken. The body of the victim was, as usual, fearfully hacked with sword-cuts.

My readers will doubtless think that Yokohama must have been a most 'sensational' place to live in. And so it was. Intervals of great calm were indeed frequent; but always sure to be rudely broken by a storm. In Europe and America these things may be equally experienced: but amid the millions of their people, each individual event—calamity or otherwise—affects but a small proportion of the inhabitants. In small communities, isolated as are those in the Far East, matters, which at home would be reported in the papers and merely furnish the proverbial nine days' wonder, make a deep and long-abiding impression.

On the 24th January, occurred one of these incidents, which, whilst the news of it came like a clap of thunder upon the foreign community, was felt and much commented on, both in Europe and America. The U.S.S. *Oneida* had fulfilled the term of her commission in the China seas, and was about returning home. All her officers were well known at each of the open ports, and some were especial favourites. The leave-takings throughout the day, had been continuous and sincere; and when, towards the close of the afternoon, the anchor was weighed and she steamed slowly through the shipping, she was cheered by the crews of the men-of-war, and so sent merrily on her way. Alas! within an hour—shortly after 6 P.M., she was under the waves in Yedo Gulf, and, with the exception of four officers (including the captain's secretary and boatswain), and about sixty men, all who were on board of her had been hurried into eternity. She had come into collision with the P. & O. steamer *Bombay*, off *Saratoga Spit*, and went down within a quarter of an hour of the occurrence. A Court of Inquiry was held, at which the Hon. C. E. DE LONG, the U. S. Minister—himself a lawyer—conducted the case on behalf of the U. S. Government: and at the outset

allowed himself to so far forget his position as to announce bitterly, pointing to Captain EYRE, that it was his intention to prosecute "that man, for whatever crime it might be shown by the evidence he was guilty of." It was an unhappy affair altogether; for usually the various nationalities in the East pull together, and manage to avoid any display of those little (or great) differences that may exist in some minds in their native lands. But it was actually stated seriously, on this most lamentable occasion, that the collision was wilful on the part of the captain of the Bombay, because the vessel was American. In reality it was too dark to make out what she was, and the pilot on board the Bombay who was an American, declared that he thought, from the way in which she was steered, that the Oneida was a Japanese ship. The result of the Inquiry was to exonerate Captain EYRE from all blame as to the collision; but, in consideration of his not remaining near the ship, and allowing her to perish without aid, he was deemed to have committed an error in judgment, and his certificate was suspended for six months. This decision was confirmed by the Board of Trade at home; but there were many here who thought it harsh: for the evidence of everyone on board the Bombay went to show that the collision was scarcely felt by them; and ladies, who were not examined in Court, declared that although they rose from their seats and went to see what had happened, it seemed so slight an affair, that they quietly returned and went on with their occupations. By deftly managing his vessel at the last moment, Captain EYRE had avoided running into the Oneida at right angles and amid-ships, and just sliced her quarter-gallery. It can easily, therefore, be understood how the shock of the collision was so slight. The Bombay was a sharp iron ship, and meeting the Oneida

as she must have done, (she going at the rate of seven or eight knots against a strong head wind, and the Oneida flying with all sail set and under full steam, at about ten to twelve knots), took a slice off of her, from taffrail to keel, like a knife. It was clearly proved that Captain EYRE did hesitate before proceeding; he looked back for some time; but seeing nothing of the ill-fated vessel in the black darkness, and neither seeing or hearing any signals of distress; finding also that his own ship was damaged, and making a considerable amount of water in the forward compartment—and considering that he had mails and passengers on board, whose safety he was responsible for, he continued on his course, and a little after seven o'clock in the evening he anchored in the harbour, quite unaware of the extent of the very serious calamity that had occurred.

It was deposed by the survivors of the Oneida that guns were fired; but all the witnesses on board the Bombay declared that they had heard none.

This unhappy occurrence was grieved over by all nationalities in the settlement, fully as much as by the countrymen of the victims; and those who knew the circumstances at the time, cannot even now speak of it, without deep and heartfelt regret.

In April, the English Flying Squadron, consisting of six men-of-war, under the command of Admiral HORNBY, visited Yokohama, on its way from the Australian colonies. The officers of the Government affected to take a great interest in this squadron, and a naval review took place at which they were present, and expressed themselves in highly gratifying terms. There can be little doubt, that it had a considerable effect in suggesting improvements in their own navy—for Japan aims at

being a naval power ; and since that day her efforts have been more than ever in that direction. Admiral HORNBY and all the Captains of the squadron were received by the Mikado, and very flattering attentions were paid to them in the Capital.

About this time an appointment was made by the Japanese Government, which had been long called for as a pressing necessity—that of a harbour-master for Yokohama. The choice had fallen upon Captain PURVES R.N., who arrived and expected at once to commence his duties—his pay having already begun. But the appointment was so distasteful to the U.S. Minister that he would not sanction his control over American ships ; and, though serving and receiving pay during the whole term for which he had been engaged, undoubtedly giving advice of some value on points connected with his office, his efforts in the direction of the specialty for which he had been engaged, were rendered almost nugatory.

A discovery of a very unpleasant nature, was made in the early part of the summer, in the British Legation. A Chinaman who was employed as a servant, had, together with a fellow-countryman and two Japanese, availed himself of the supposed security from discovery the locality afforded, to make it the scene of his operations in no less an enterprise than the forging of *kinsats*' (paper money). Suspicions, however, arose, and the men were handed over to the Japanese for trial. One of the Chinamen, shown to be less culpable than the rest, was sentenced to three years imprisonment ; but the other three men were beheaded.

The month of May, 1870, will always be remembered by Yokohama and Tokio residents for its numerous earthquakes, several of which were severe, and one especially violent. From the 1st to the 26th of the month there were no less than 181 shocks, 24 of which

had occurred on the 18th ; and it was one of these 24 that was noted as being the most alarming of any that had been hitherto experienced by foreigners in Japan. It lasted fully two minutes—from 2h. 38m. to 2h. 40m. in the morning—and is still the standard by which all who felt it, measure any shock that seems to be of more than ordinary force.

In the course of the same month, H.E. Sir HARRY PARKES accompanied by Lady PARKES and a few friends, visited Nikkô and the silk districts. In the course of the trip they made the ascent of the active volcano Asama Yama. Many hundreds of foreigners have since visited the beautiful shrine of IYEVAS, at Nikko, but few, if any, had done so up to 1870.

For some time past, unpleasant rumours had been circulated of the persecuting spirit with which the new Government was imbued in regard to religion. The first thing they did in this direction was to attempt to crush out the Buddhist faith, and support that of Shintooism. This latter, so far as foreigners can understand it, appears to be pure Deism. But it is the root from whence springs the Imperial authority, and it seemed necessary to uphold it and glorify it before the eyes of the people. The Shintoo idea is as follows :—

From primeval chaos there emanated a self-created divinity. Amid all the nonsense and absurdity of the Japanese mythology, there always remains this one fundamental belief. He was throned in the highest heavens. Passing over all the god-like beings who, I suppose, owed their existence to him, we come to the origin of Japan. One of them (I avoid names utterly beyond Europeans to remember) addressing his consort, said—"There should be somewhere a habitable earth ; let us seek it under the waters that are boiling beneath us."

He dipped his jewelled spear into the water, and the turbid drops, trickling from the weapon as he withdrew it, congealed and formed an island. This island was the largest of the eight that constituted the world—Japan. He then called eight millions of gods into existence, created 'the ten thousand things' (*Yorodzu-no-mono*), and then committed the government of the whole to his favourite child, his daughter, the sun goddess, known by the three different names of AMA-TERASU-NO-KAMI, OOHIRUME-NO-MIKOTO and TENSHO DAIJIN.

With the sovereignty of TENSHO DAIJIN began a new epoch. Gods and demigods sprung from her, and governed the world during over two millions of years. These were terrestrial gods; and the last of them, having taken a mortal wife, left a mortal son upon earth, JINMU TENNO, the founder of the Mikadonic dynasty.

But of all these high and puissant deities, although so essentially belonging to Shintoo mythology, none seems to be an object of worship except TENSHO DAIJIN; and she, although the especial deity of Japan, is too great to be addressed in prayer, save through the mediation of the *kami*, or her descendant, the Mikado. The *kami* are divided into superior and inferior, 492 being born gods, and 2,640 being canonised men. They are all mediatory spirits.

But with divinities thus numerous, the Shintoo are no idolators. Their temples are unpolluted with idols, and the only incentives to devotion they contain are, a mirror and *gohei*, the latter consisting of strips of white paper, and both being emblems of the soul's purity.

I one day enquired of a Japanese gentleman if he could explain the Shintoo faith to me. He said:—"Well, perhaps you may obtain a definite notion from this. In your christian religion, you speak of three persons in one

God. Now our idea is that all the gods are one. We attribute to one the power over this, to another the power over that, but they are all in fact one deity."

Having said so much as to Shintooism, it will be thoroughly understood that it is the most important foundation of the Mikado's empire, and it is not to be wondered at that an attempt should have been made to bring it into the fullest prominence, to the upsetting and obliteration, if possible, of other creeds. Hitherto Buddhism and Shintooism had flourished side by side; but now the monasteries of the former, which were numerous throughout the land, were broken up, temples were destroyed, and the priests scattered. The old rules of asceticism were ordered to be done away with; and, as a crowning blow to the religion, its priests were universally allowed to marry, and indulge in animal food. The real effect of these measures was to produce an almost universal infidelity; and, at this day, superstition alone stands with many in place of religious belief.

But it was not the Buddhists only who were sufferers by this religious movement on the part of the Government. There remained in some parts of the empire, notably in the island of Kiushiu, the descendants of the christians who had been converted to the faith by Francis Xavier and his fellow missionaries, three hundred years ago. Notwithstanding all the persecution that the christians had to undergo at the time when the foreign priests were driven from Japan: in spite of the massacre at Papenburg, and the slaughter at Shimabara: these people were true to their creed. Poor things! They had little of real christianity left but the name. No priests were there to teach the truth, nor to excite them to christian deeds or a christian life; no bibles had they to direct them; their religion was a mere name—a sentiment. But they clung to it, and it was their chief glory.

The Government, casting its eye upon them, adopted energetic measures with them. The existence of 'the evil religion,' was an eyesore, absolutely unendurable. Christianity was viewed as sapping the very foundations of the Imperial authority, and it must be suppressed. Although missionaries certainly did teach and preach as much as they could, it was illegal; and the Government looked angrily upon all natives who listened to them. But the attack was not upon these. At Urakami and other places in Kiushiu, a raid was made, and hundreds, men, women and children, were torn from their homes, and sent off to the territories of distant daimios, to be imprisoned. A number also, from Bizen, Geyshiu, and adjacent provinces, arrived at Osaka, *en route* for their destinations, and had a terribly emaciated, woe-begone appearance, not even having been allowed to take any clothes with them but those they were clad in when seized. The foreign ministers made a united and very powerful remonstrance. They did so on the representation that "over three thousand from the neighbourhood of Nagasaki had been deported, to be dispersed among the pagan population." It is strange that on this point the Japanese chose to make a stand, and it was a long time before any success attended the protests of the foreign representatives. However, after a good many months, the Government relaxed its iron hold, and let the poor sufferers—as many as survived, for many of them died under the imprisonment and privations—return to their own homes.

On the 2nd June 1870, the first land sale of the Foreign Concession, Tsukiji, took place, "a Japanese—or rather several Japanese—acting as auctioneer. It took an hour to knock down the first lot; but between 10 A.M.

and 4 p.m. 24 lots sold, realizing about \$23,500." We all expected great things of Yedo at that time. How they have been realized, let the purchasers of land at that sale, declare.

The public gardens on the Bluff, Yokohama, were opened at this time. A thoroughly worthy undertaking most thoroughly and unaccountably neglected by the general public ever since. On one man, mainly, Mr. W. H. SMITH, their support for a long time depended; and but for him they would long since have reverted to the Japanese lords of the soil. By his care, however, they were kept in excellent order, and they deserved better appreciation at the hands of the community.

And now foreigners began to recognise a probability of what has since become an accomplished fact. A sign of the times was, that native merchants, both in Yedo and Yokohama, were talking of owning foreign-built trading ships and steamers, for the legitimate purposes of trade. They had long since seen how comparatively useless their own junks were—how slow, how small, how unseaworthy. They also now saw the finest clippers in the world, arriving with immense cargoes of rice, almost like magic, directly there was a demand for it; and they beheld the enormous steamers of the P. M. S. S. Co., arriving and departing crowded with passengers and cargo—and other large steamers plying with a regularity that utterly astonished them. Hitherto the merchants had not been allowed to own foreign-built ships; and as Japanese builders were obliged to adhere to their old model, no progress had been made in that direction. We shall see hereafter what the present talk ended in. The seed was swelling, and before long must shoot.

A terrible catastrophe occurred on the 1st August,

off Tskiji, the foreign settlement in Tokio—the explosion of the steamer City of Yedo, by which the Revd. E. D. CORNES, his wife, their eldest child, and six other persons, two being Europeans, were killed on the spot; 62 others, all Japanese, died afterwards from injuries received; 64 were injured, and only 18 escaped unhurt.

There have been frequently of late years occasions both in Yokohama and Tokio, enlivened by music played by the band of the Imperial Marines. In 1870, there was not a Japanese in the country who played decently on any foreign musical instrument. Mr. FENTON, the band-master of the 10th Regiment, had undertaken to teach a number of Satsuma men, and had already commenced with fifes, bugles and drums, manufactured in Japan, on European models. On the 31st July, however, the Chieftain arrived from London, with a supply of the best regimental instruments for a full band, from Messrs. DISTIN; and on the 7th September, the young band, then called “the Satsuma band,” played in the public gardens at an evening fête. On the departure of the 10th, Mr. FENTON, who had accepted a lengthened engagement from the Japanese government, remained. For many a day, almost all his pupils were from Satsuma province, and some of them made an excellent shew as musicians; but the difficulty Mr. FENTON had to contend with was, that so soon as they had made any marked progress, and he felt some satisfaction in their performances, they were draughted off, and he saw and heard no more of them. As yet the Japanese at large, though they profess to like the band, can make “neither head nor tail” of the music.

In October, a serious question arose between the French Minister and the Prussian Chargé d’Affaires respecting the

Proclamation of Neutrality, which, on the outbreak of the war between France and Germany, had been issued by the Japanese Government. By an oversight, for which the framers of the Proclamation were responsible, an important omission had been made, by which the safety of merchant vessels was gravely jeopardized, and an incident soon occurred illustrative of the dangers to which they were exposed. After representing unsuccessfully to M. OUTREY the effects of this omission upon the ships flying the North German flag, M. von BRANDT proceeded to Yedo, and prevailed upon the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to supply the necessary omissions in the Proclamation, suggesting two clauses which repaired the error. To these clauses no exception could be taken, as they were entirely in harmony with the accepted rules of foreign nations, and were actually required to ensure efficient protection to the mercantile marine of both nations. But M. OUTREY refused with some warmth to acknowledge the justice of an amendment made without his privity, and after the proclamation had been issued as an Imperial edict. Nor could M. von BRANDT be absolved from the charge of having somewhat disregarded the well marked line of diplomatic etiquette, in urging the amendment upon the Japanese without the full concurrence of his colleague. The complication at one time looked serious, and gave rise to some idle whispers of challenges between the men-of-war belonging to the respective Powers, then in harbour. But it may be presumed that the excellent relations which had always subsisted between the two Envoys suggested a solution of the question acceptable to both of them, though it was remarked, that, at an entertainment given in honour of the Mikado shortly after these occurrences, the French Legation was entirely unrepresented.

On the 17th May, the Mikado went on horseback to a grand review of troops, said to be 30,000 in number, belonging to a good many clans. As yet the Imperial army had remained very much on the old footing, being composed of the retainers of the former daimios. The regiments occupied about an hour and a half in marching past. His Majesty returned to Tokio in his *norimon*. At the review special accommodation was provided for foreigners, but there were only a few present.

In the autumn, a similar review took place and notwithstanding a heavy rainfall throughout the day, His Majesty again rode to the ground, a distance of five or six miles.

But it was not only the Emperor who thus disregarded old customs. Two of his relatives, HIGASHI FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA, being one, left the shores of Japan, to travel and to study abroad. It was evident that if they desired to avoid being the nonentities that the majority of the daimios now were, they must bestir themselves, and render themselves capable of becoming leaders in the progress of their native land. They made good use of their time, and of the kindness they met with abroad, and the effect of their foreign experience is beneficially felt in the country at this day.

It is a sad fact, that when the daimios were appointed as Governors (Chiji) of their Hans, they proved to be personally quite incompetent; and it was seen that the arrangement must be altered. After much anxious discussion, therefore, it was resolved to abolish the Han (principalities) altogether, by converting them into Ken (provinces) each under the control of clever and efficient men. It was a bold task—but it was resolved upon, and it was accomplished in the following year.

During the year 1870, discontent among the samurai exhibited itself in various directions. They already

perceived that the change of masters, the transfer from the service of their daimios to that of the Mikado, was resolving itself into their having no master at all. The army was to be reorganised, and that too in a manner unheard of in Japan; for actually it was no longer to be confined to the hereditary fighting-men, but farmers and common people were to be admitted. Now, it was no longer the foreigners who looked with suspicion upon them, and saw in them a dangerous class; it was those who were bringing about all the changes that were so hateful to them; and who well knew that to arm and drill them on modern principles, would be only placing in their hands, and teaching them to use, weapons that might be turned against the new régime. The pensions that had been allotted to them by the Imperial Government, were inadequate to their support; and there was a strong objection, on the part of most of them, to supplement their receipts by working, except in military or official positions. The mutterings they vented therefore, were already audible.

Still, there were some who did buckle-to; who, laying aside their swords, became absorbed in the walks of commerce and agriculture. It began, also, to be quite a common thing to meet Japanese dressed in foreign costume, with their hair worn in the European style.

In fact, so far as the national life was concerned, the period was one of the most marked transition. But, on the whole, good, solid advance was perceptible, despite the prognostications of some who sincerely thought, and plainly said, that the pace was altogether too fast. In reality the Mikado and his ministers could not help themselves. The ball had been put in motion, and it was impossible to stop it.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1871.

CONCERT FOR THE FRENCH WOUNDED.—RIVAL GAS COMPANIES.—MR. HANNEN ARRIVES AS A. A. J. OF H. B. M. SUPREME COURT.—MURDER OF HIROSAWA SANGI.—EMPERIAL ENVOY SENT TO KAGOSHIMA.—IWAKURA'S COMMISSION.—THE MIKADO'S LETTER TO SHIMADZU SABURO.—HIS REPLY.—OPENING OF YOKOSKA DOCKYARD AND ARSENAL.—THEIR COST.—OPENING OF THE MINT.—THE CURRENCY TAMPERED WITH.—NIBOO-KIN.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MINT.—THE OPENING CEREMONIES.—POST OFFICES ESTABLISHED.

I now come to the period with which the "retrospect" commenced, that I have mentioned in the preface as having first suggested to me the interest that might attach to such a narrative as is contained in this book. It will be a disappointment to me, if readers do not find in the recital of the more peaceful progress of the ensuing years, as much to arrest the attention, and afford food for reflection, as did the more exciting period that has hitherto been dwelt upon.

My chief difficulty is this:—that, I am only able to present mere outline drawings instead of finished pictures. Had I not limited myself to two volumes

I believe that the narrative would have gained not only in value for its information, but in quality as a readable book.

Under the circumstances, if it occurs to any of my readers that I am chronicling "small beer," I will only ask them to consider that I am professedly telling them of the new birth of a nation. Japan in its second childhood! Aye! but not in its decay! Japan in its regeneration! At the moment of which I am now speaking, much that will pass under the reader's eye, will savour of hobble-de-hoy-ism. Never mind. Read on; and it will be seen that with the principal actors, their task was no child's play. No! With them Life was real! Life was earnest! Life was not an idle dream. There was no trifling, although often there seemed to be much floundering. Foreigners on the spot smiled—too often scoffed—when they ought to have sympathised!

On the 5th January, 1871, a Concert in aid of the French wounded in the war, took place under the patronage of Madame OUTREY, wife of the French ambassador, who herself took part in the performance. The programme was interrupted at the close of the first part by a fire which broke out at the Commercial Hotel, only a few yards from the theatre. But on the 12th instant, Madame OUTREY and the ladies and gentlemen assisting her, gave the audience an opportunity of hearing the programme with slight alterations, in its entirety.

The sum of frs.17,500 was remitted to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs as the nett proceeds; an amount, it must be evident, that could not be taken at ordinary prices of admission from the largest audience that could be accommodated in any public or private building in the East. In reality it was a matter that struck

a sympathetic chord in every mind. The French residents, particularly, but many others besides, did not limit their contributions to the mere price of the tickets.

In February, 1871, two gas companies, one German the other Japanese, having demanded the concession of a twelve years monopoly for supplying gas to Yokohama, were told that the one which within 80 days could obtain in writing the promise of the greatest public support should receive the concession. The result was the erection of gas works by the Japanese company. The native town was speedily lighted by gas, though, from the difficulty of coming to an agreement as to price, the foreign settlement did not for a long time enjoy that privilege, and even then only for one short year. The Japanese proprietors wanted to raise the price, and the community would not consent. The settlement, therefore, remains in nocturnal obscurity to this day.

Mr. N. J. HANNEN arrived, and commenced his duties as Acting Assistant Judge of H.B.M. Supreme Court, about this time.

During this month took place the horribly cold-blooded murder of HIROSAWA, one of the Sangi or Imperial Council. It was supposed to be the first of an attempt to get rid of all the Sangi; but it did not turn out to be so. It created great excitement in Tokio.

During many months much uneasiness had been felt by the obstinate demeanour of the prince of Satsuma, or, more correctly speaking, his father. In April 1871, an envoy of the Mikado visited Kagoshima, and all present causes of apprehension ceased.

The following authentic documents, which I take from the *Japan Mail*, will be read with interest. The first two are chiefly curious as evidences of the form in which the Sovereign addressed nobles of the highest rank on

occasions when their services were required by the State, and of the manner of the reply to these commands.

IWAKURA, was the envoy sent down to Kagoshima, with the mandate of the Mikado ordering SHIMADZU SABURO to give his assistance in the great Council of State.

IWAKURA DAINAGON'S COMMISSION.

To IWAKURA DAINAGON,

His Majesty desires to present a sword to the shrine of SHOKOKU daimiojin at Kagoshima, in Satsuma, and to take an oath to the god to exalt the destinies of the State. You will therefore proceed thither and worship in obedience to this desire of His Majesty.

SANJO SANEYOSHI.

TOKUDAIJI SANENORI.

OKIMACHI-SANJO SANENARU.

MIKADO'S LETTER TO SHIMADZU OSUMI NO KAMI.

We gratefully continue in our person the Great Line, and day and night perform anxiously our functions. But to Our great regret the Great Laws are not yet rendered effective, nor the ten thousand families yet made happy. The work before us is truly not easy. We have pondered profoundly over this. Do you, HISAMITSU, become our right hand and best support, and assist our deficiencies, and unite in heart and strength with our assembled servants, so as to aid and perfect the great work. Enable us to carry out the restoration of the Ancient System.

We have ordered the Dainagon TOMIYOSHI (IWAKURA) to inform you of our sentiments. Hear with reverence. To SHIMADZU JIUSAMMI.

Reply of SHIMADZU JIUSAMMI (SHIMADZU OSUMI NO KAMI) to the MIKADO'S letter.

Your Servant HISAMITSU says with reverence:—

Deigning not to abandon a mean and wretched creature like your servant, Your Majesty has condescended to send your glorious commands by the hands of Your Majesty's Envoy IWAKURA Dainagon Kiō. He cannot restrain tears of joy at such a signal mark of favour. He listens prostrate to the Imperial Decree, and feels that

an inferior capacity like his is unequal to this great and important charge. Desiring to express his feelings he finds himself incapable of doing so. His bowels are rent with the effort.

He privately thinks that the duty of a great subject to his Prince is one and simple; namely, fidelity alone. To forget himself for the sake of his country is the highest limit which it can reach.

The order for a reformed system of the Imperial Court having once been sent forth from one centre, who shall gainsay it? What your servant is anxious about is lest the name only should exist and not the reality. At first the name and essence both existed in highest perfection, but now it seems to have come to the empty name alone being preserved. This is indeed a source of deep sighs. 'If when the ruler frowns he causes fear and when he is composed tranquillity is preserved then the country is saved and the dignity of the throne is upheld.' How can your servant HISAMITSU expect to have influence enough to protect the country? But his bowels overflow with the patriotic desire to do so. He will therefore do what his little strength enables him to do. But unless he depends upon your Majesty's wise and sagacious supernatural virtue, how can he be equal to the work? He prays therefore that the Heavenly heart may be pure and transparent.

Your Servant HISAMITSU adores your Majesty from afar, with genuine fear, bowings of the head and contempt for death.

The gloomy, brooding, disappointed noble did not obey the summons. He and the old clansmen were altogether distanced in the race. They had bargained for a return to what they were pleased to call "the ancient system," but they found nothing as of old but the name.

On the 28th March, the Yokoska Dock, Naval Arsenal and workshops were publicly opened, in presence of some of the most prominent men in the Empire. After the various ceremonies, those who had been invited partook of a splendid collation, at which speeches were made

by the foreign Ministers and the Japanese officials respectively ; and all went off well. A note by M. Verny of the cost of the arsenal was circulated, which may prove interesting.

EXPENSES OF THE YOKOSKA ARSENAL.

The programme adopted by the Japanese Government in 1865, included the provision of dockyard, workshops and basins, sufficient for all requirements of naval construction. The expense was estimated at \$600,000 *per annum* during four years, making a total of \$2,400,000.

The works were commenced in March, 1866, and the expenses to the 19th February, 1871, reached the total of \$1,769,026.

As follows :—

1.—Materials, wrought and unwrought.....	\$509,897
2.—Machines and tools	215,816
3.—Transport, freight, and other expenses ...	140,793
4.—Salaries of workmen by the day	188,263
5.—Pay of employes paid monthly	333,039
6.—Works at the Establishment	321,391
7.—Expenses of workshops at Yokohama, forming a separate head, for 1869 and 1870.....	59,827
Total.....	\$1,769,026

From this sum, deduct :

1.—Work done for foreigners of other services	190,348
2.—Value of Workshops and Machinery at Yokohama	62,800
3.—Price of construction and support of four Lighthouses	45,447
Total.....	\$298,595

The remaining sum of \$1,470,431, which represents the actual value of the establishment at Yokoska, is detailed thus :—

1.—Existing supplies and works in course of construction to the 19th Feb., 1871.....	187,208
2.—Earthworks, dwellings, and divers buildings	211,524
3.—Machine shops, &c.,	306,317
4.—Dry Dock	164,836
5.—Floating material	107,555
6.—General expenses, and others which have not been included in the preceding	492,996
Total.....	<u>\$1,470,431</u>

The space occupied by the arsenal is $16\frac{1}{2}$ hectares; that for dwellings, stores &c. is $9\frac{1}{2}$ hectares. In all 26 hectares (about 65 acres).

To the 19th February 1871, there remained to be executed, various arrangements for the offices and stores, for the quays and the slips; and finally there is to be made another dock, in accordance with the programme agreed upon in 1865.

The number of workmen employed in the work-shops, &c., is about 800. The arrangements allow for 1800 men.

The Hydraulic and civil works have employed a *personnel* varying from 5 to 600 men. They are employed at the same wages as in Europe.

A harbour of 11 hectares, superficial, has been dredged to the depth of 9 metres by means of a dredging machine, that can take up 80 cubic metres an hour, and it will be entirely protected against the North East swell, by a breakwater of 180 metres.

(Signed)

L. VERNY.

The 4th April was a red-letter day in Osaka, the Imperial Mint being formally opened in state, in presence of the Japanese highest officials, the foreign Ministers and a great crowd of people.

As this was one of the most important works in which foreigners were likely to be concerned that had been undertaken by the Government, a full description of the institution at least, if not of the ceremonies, would be

desirable. But, it would extend to such a length, that I must content myself with the barest outline.

When, by the circumstances detailed in previous chapters, the Japanese finance officers were brought into communication with the Oriental Bank, they found in Mr. JOHN ROBERTSON, the Yokohama manager, a man of sound practical judgment, able and willing to give them advice on this most important branch of their administration. On more than one occasion he warned them of the consequences of their monetary muddling. From the very commencement of foreign intercourse this had been going on. It were a work of supererogation to repeat the instances I have already given. Of late, however, as I have recorded, a large amount of base coinage had found its way into circulation. There was of old a convenient little gold coin of the value of two boos called *niboo-kin* (golden *ni-boo*). This was always treated as bullion in commercial and financial transactions; but as it was pure, the course of exchange fluctuated but little, and as an ordinary circulating medium it was generally approved of. In making contracts with the Japanese it was, and is, customary to agree as to the mode of payment, and at the time of which I am speaking, *niboo-kin*, at the current rate, were frequently agreed for. No one suspected any foul play, or any tampering with the coinage. But suddenly a great outcry arose. It was discovered that large sums had been paid by Japanese, and received without suspicion by foreigners, in a coin whose substance was some heavy composition, covered with the thinnest possible coating of the precious metal; and that it was all but valueless. It matters not whence this came. Some declared it was from one clan, some from another; but this much is certain—that TAKASHIMA KAYEMON was imprisoned for supplying the dies and apparatus to the order of the HIZEN clan.

Complaints were laid before the foreign Ministers, who duly represented the evil to the Government and demanded redress. Dumb-founded by the position they found themselves in: at a loss how to pay the successive demands made upon them: yet anxious to act uprightly and to maintain the national credit, they agreed to take each case on its own merits. Then was displayed, among foreigners and Japanese alike, that spirit of cupidity which, hateful as it may be, is undoubtedly a part of our human nature. It was supposed that the Government would redeem all the base *niboo-kin*; and, as a consequence, they became an object of wild speculation. The notion prevailing that the Government would be forced to pay two boos for every counterfeit *ni-boos* presented by foreigners, kept the exchange price far above their intrinsic value, but so greatly below the value of the true coin, that, evidently, the calculation in the minds of speculators was, the alternative between almost total loss of the amount paid, and the large profit, out of all proportion to the possible loss, should, as was deemed certain, the Government acknowledge their liability.

The total amount involved, though not inconsiderable, would have been a mere *bagatelle* in any of the large marts of the universe; but in our small world, it was a weighty matter both as to the individual speculators and more especially as to the Government.

I have dwelt upon the *niboo-kin*, because these more particularly affected foreigners. But the copper coinage was equally tampered with. The *tempo*, a coin the bulk of which was copper, and which was originally the one hundredth part of a *rio* or dollar, i.e., one cent, was actually imitated by a token, the bulk of which was clay.

The experiences of the Government under the Tycoonate, therefore, were confirmed by those of the new

Ministry, who very plainly saw that there was but one way out of all these difficulties. It was precisely that which had been recommended in 1859 by Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK; and which had been invariably suggested by all the other foreign representatives with whom they consulted. It was this persuasion that had induced the Tycoon's Government to purchase machinery in France. It was this, added to all the palpable facts now presented to them, that led to the determination to introduce a Mint among their permanent national institutions.

In order, therefore, to place their currency on an improved basis: in accordance with the repeated suggestions of all the foreign representatives with whom consultations had been held: and by the assistance of the Oriental Bank: they had begun, continued, and completed the admirable building that was now about to be opened.

On an area of about twenty acres, of what only two years before had been low swampy marsh land, a handsome building had been erected combining the Tuscan and Doric orders. Nothing like it had before been attempted in Japan, and nothing approaching to it in simplicity and solidity has since been constructed. The grounds in which it stood were neatly laid out, and houses for the European and Japanese officials were provided.

The building itself was divided into nine separate compartments:—

- 1.—For gold melting and refining.
- 2.—For silver melting—containing twelve furnaces, capable of melting 70,000 ounces a day.
- 3.—For rolling and annealing. The metal is here brought to its required thickness, so that the disc stamped from it is of the exact weight of the intended coin.
- 4.—For cutting the blank discs.
- 5.—For the engines—two pair of twenty horse power, high pressure, horizontal.

6.—The Impression room. Containing eight lever presses adaptable for any coin. Of these presses two are French, by TONELLI; and six are English, by JAMES WATT and Sons.

7.—In this compartment the hardening and blanching is accomplished—the blanks, before coinage, being heated and subsequently boiled in dilute sulphuric acid and then thrown into cold water.

8.—The room for weighing the coin when minted.

9.—Store-room, with an examination room in which the workmen deposit their working clothes on leaving the building.

For description this must suffice. As for the opening ceremonies, they were extremely interesting to those who were present, but probably would be less so to those who merely read a description of them. It is enough, therefore, to mention, that at noon on the appointed day, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and a crowd of other Japanese officials, all in full court dress, the Foreign Ministers, and a large assemblage of officers of the naval, military and civil services, Japanese and foreign, formed in procession, and, ascending the broad flight of steps, halted under the portico of the building, whilst a photograph of the scene was taken. Entering then the great doors, SANJO Daijin, the Premier, ascended a small matted dais, and handing an address to an interpreter, the latter read it aloud in English:—

“The Japanese Government, in order to meet the gradual increase of the national requirements, and desiring to further the development of Foreign commerce, undertook, the year before last, the construction of a Mint, with the purpose of putting forth a new and pure coinage, in conformity with the system of coinage existing in other countries. The work has now been completed, owing to the zealous co-operation of the Oriental Banking Corporation, and Messrs. KINDER and WATERS.

“It is a great satisfaction to the Japanese Government, that the ceremony of its opening has been celebrated in the presence of the Foreign Representatives

and of other gentlemen. It is a proof that the development of commerce will be assisted in the future, and we hope that the friendly feelings existing between our people and those of foreign countries will continue ever to increase.

"In conclusion, we beg to thank the Foreign Representatives and other gentlemen present, for their kind attendance on this occasion."

Of the procession to the Engine room, and starting of the machinery by SANJO Daijin, of the progress through each department, and the explanations imparted by the heads of them; of the gas works, refinery and other adjoining buildings; of the luncheon, with SANJO in the chair; of the toasts that were proposed and the speeches that were made, why should I speak? Are they not all recorded in the chronicles of the period? It was really a memorable occasion, and it was the universal opinion that the beautiful edifice and fine machinery, now to be turned permanently to their proper uses, would be of advantage, beyond cavil or doubt, to the Japanese empire. Whether up to this day, as much benefit as was anticipated has been derived from them I will not pretend to say.

The new currency commenced to be circulated in August, two of the silver coins—the yen and the 20 sen piece—being issued. Strangely enough, however, the Government refused to accept them in payment of duties.

About this period, the government busied itself in the establishment of a Postal system throughout the country. Hitherto the delivery of letters had been left to private companies, who had an efficient system of conveyance by means of runners. It was now undertaken by the Government with complete success, and has proved a great boon to the public. I shall have to allude to it at some length later on.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1871.

THE "SHIMBUN ZASSHI."—THE EMPRESS, PATRONESS OF FEMALE INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION.—JAPANESE OFFICIALS AND SERICULTURE.—SUNDRY VISITS TO THE SILK DISTRICTS.—OFFICIALS ENCOURAGE THE SILK INDUSTRY.—M. BRUNAT AND THE TOMIOKA FILATURE.—JINRIKISHAS.—SAMURAI OF CERTAIN CLANS RESIGN THEIR PRIVILEGES AND BECOME HEIMIN.—RESTLESSNESS IN THE GOVERNMENT.—HOSOKAWA RESIGNS HIS OFFICE OF CHIJI, AND SUGGESTS CONSTITUTIONAL MODIFICATIONS.—SAIGO KITCHINOSUKE MADE A SANGI.—PROBABLE REASONS.—ITAGAKI SANGI.—SAIGO'S EARLY HISTORY.—GOTO SHOJIRO.—CONVERSION OF HAN INTO KEN.—CERTAIN SAMURAI REQUEST PERMISSION TO DISCONTINUE WEARING SWORDS.—IMPERIAL COMMISSION ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.—THE OBJECTIONABLE CLAUSES IN THE TREATIES.—NOTICE GIVEN BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR WISH TO REVISE THE TREATIES.—THEIR UNCERTAIN LAWS A BAR TO THEIR WISHES.—DETERMINATION TO AMEND THEIR LEGAL AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM.—AND TO SEND AN EMBASSY TO ALL THE TREATY POWERS.

A small weekly newspaper began to be published this spring, by government sanction. It was entitled the *Shimbun Zasshi*—(The Budget of News), and was generally believed to be issued under the auspices of Kido.

Its first number brought the youthful Empress under notice, as beginning to interest herself in matters that have ever since had the advantage of her fostering care. Having resolved to make herself practically acquainted with silkworm culture, four competent women were selected to instruct Her Majesty in the art; and from this time forward the Empress has shown a commendable concern for the improvement of her countrywomen by the encouragement of industry and education among them.

The importance of silk as an article of export was forced upon the Japanese authorities almost against their will. To use a happy simile that appears in the preface of the little paper I have before me—they had been “like summer insects who disbelieved in the existence of ice.” The supply of silk having for centuries been only sufficient to meet the wants of the country itself, they imagined that if its export went on to any considerable extent, the country would be deprived of it altogether, or that only those who could afford to buy at enormous prices would be able to wear it. They did not consider that the effect of its export at high prices, would be to stimulate the culture, and increase the production. Thus we have seen what obstructions were put in the way of the silk trade during the earlier years of intercourse. But long before the time of which I am writing they had come to a correct perception of the mutual effects of supply and demand upon each other.

The subject was one of such importance that several gentlemen had sought to penetrate into the silk districts to ascertain the capabilities of the country for increased production, as well as to obtain an insight into the methods of ‘educating’ the worms, and reeling the cocoons. Mr. J. M. JAQUEMOT, a Swiss gentleman, who

was largely interested in the business, did not scruple to visit the northern silk-fields, even during the time of the troubles ; and the information he gained was placed at the disposal of the public. In 1869, Mr. ADAMS, H.B.M. Secretary of Legation, accompanied by Mr. WILKINSON as interpreter, and by Messrs. DAVISON, PIQUET, and BRUNAT, silk inspectors belonging to three different firms in Yokohama, paid a visit to the Central silk districts, and, assisted by their practical knowledge, produced a valuable report on the subject, for Her Majesty's Government. Two other similar excursions were subsequently made by Mr. ADAMS, and one by Mr. RUSSELL ROBERTSON, in every case experts being invited to accompany them. The Chamber of Commerce also drew up a paper upon the best mode of reeling the silk for foreign use. And the real energetic action thus observable among the foreigners, proved to the Japanese officials, the necessity of encouraging its growth, and improving the preparation of it for the foreign markets. The little paper severely comments upon the frauds and disgraceful practices of the silk farmers, and the native merchants in Yokohama, which had gone far to damage the trade, —reducing the price, and annihilating the confidence of foreign merchants.

Early in the year M. BRUNAT, a Frenchman, (one of those mentioned above as having accompanied Mr. ADAMS), was engaged by the Government to establish a filature at Tomioka, in the province of Kodzuké. This institution still flourishes, and has done valuable service.

Many of my readers will call to mind that the outcry raised against the introduction of railways in England, included amongst its many wails, that it would throw thousands of men and horses out of employ ; but that the real effect was increased employment for both. In 1867

or 1868, Mr. GOBLE, an American missionary, gave to a Japanese the idea of an enlarged perambulator, to be drawn by one man, as an improvement upon the comfortless *kago* carried on the shoulders of two men, universally used as a conveyance throughout Japan. The new vehicle took wonderfully, and was known by the name *jinrikisha* (man power carriage).

The *Shimbun Zasshi* says:—"On the introduction of *jinrikishas*, the *kagoyas* (keepers of *kagos* for hire), complained, saying that it would injure the *kago* bearers, and they ridiculed every *jinrikisha* that passed. But in 1871, only three years after their adoption, there are of these 25,000 licensed, giving employment to 5,000 more coolies than the 10,000 *kagos* formerly in use."

A movement was now observable among the samurai in some of the clans, which showed that there was good leaven working in the country. The practice of wearing two swords was still adhered to. The question of abolishing the custom had been one of the first debated in the Deliberative Assembly; but it had been negatived. All the men in the Administration saw the difficulty of getting rid of the custom; though all were conscious that the very fact of its existence separated class from class, and prevented the conversion of the drones into workers.

A few had already run the risk of rebuke, and entered upon various paths of labour; but as yet the majority continued to sit at home and nurse their discontent. At last four of the clans laid petitions before their respective *Chiji* (Governors—the former daimios of the clans), saying, "it is no longer reconcile able with a samurai's duty to sit down quietly and eat the food of the nation." They therefore asked permission to resign their hereditary salaries with the intention of working for their living. The Imperial decision on the

subject was requested, and was, as might be supposed, favourable.

It is not easy to follow the Government movements at this period with perfect regularity, on account of the frequent changes that were constantly occurring in the departments, sub-departments, and offices of state, as well as in their names, and the names and titles of the officials. There was a restlessness, I might almost say an irritability, perceptible in the management of public business, that showed all was not working smoothly. Men had not yet found their proper grooves. The uselessness of some of the *kuazoku*, now acting as *Chiji* of their Hans, had particularly manifested itself, and the time had come for a general reconstruction.

Hosokawa, formerly prince of Higo, but now *Chiji* of Kumamoto,—always a master-mind among his peers, a good, thoughtful, far-seeing man, full of benevolent impulses and patriotic fervour—sent in a memorial to the Government, asking permission to resign his present office, that a man of ability might take his place. He said unequivocally that the old chiefs of the clans were not fit persons to govern them under the new *régime*. Their only recommendation was their ancient pedigree, and they were unequal to their duties. He also gave his opinion as to modifications that were desirable in the constitution of the Government itself.

This document and all the proceedings of the Government with regard to the *Chijis*, is a strong commentary upon the old daimios, and the system under which they lived. It would form a hook on which to hang many an amusing story familiar to those who have associated with Japanese of the samurai class. But space forbids, and I must leave my readers to ponder over it for themselves.

In the month of August decisive steps were taken. Most of the Councillors of State, and several heads of

departments were dismissed from office, with a view to a different distribution. Some of them were not immediately re-invested with power; but most of them were, only with a change of office; and the opportunity was seized for introducing SAIGO KITCHINOSUKE into the Cabinet.

With respect to this appointment, it is easy to understand the motive. The samurai were becoming troublesome. SAIGO, on account of his bravery, his simplicity, and his sympathy with his class, had become the idol of the two-sworded men. Since the suppression of the rebellion, he had resided quietly at Kagoshima, where he devoted himself to farming as an amusement; but, as a duty, he applied his resources to the instruction of the samurai of his clan. With considerable difficulty he had been persuaded to come to Tokio, and join the Government; and I can well imagine that when IWAKURA went to invite SHIMADZU SABURO to return to the capital, the idea was, that these two men, SABURO (now called HISAMITSU) and SAIGO KITCHINOSUKE, being the two foremost men in the affections of the samurai, might easily become dangerous. If their influence could be enlisted on the side of Government, a great point would be gained. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that ITAGAKI, of the Tosa clan, was at the same time invited, and he was probably, the man, who, after the other two, could command the largest following. Indeed only a few days after the appointment of SAIGO, ITAGAKI was gazetted as a member of the cabinet.

SAIGO's later history is a sad one, and will have to be told ere I finish my narrative. Let me, then, say a few words here as to his early life.

He was born in Satsuma province, in the year 1822. His father was a samurai, but of no particular mark. That he had a true estimate of the value of education and

training, may be inferred from the figure made by two of his sons—the one of whom I am now writing; and another who has been glanced at in the Interpolatory chapter in the first volume, and who will have to be again mentioned, ere long.

Whilst as yet quite young, KITCHINOSUKE was appointed gardener to the Prince of SATSUMA. This was oftentimes an office of considerable trust, held by one in whom the prince placed entire confidence. In those days, such was the system of surveillance, that a daimio could not move in the least degree out of the common groove without its being reported to the Yedo Government. It was unsafe even to have any secret communications with a page or other official, for the very fact of such private conversations would lead to suspicions. But the gardeners moving hither and thither, were talked with, indifferently, by all. So, it had come to pass, that occasionally samurai of intelligence and reliability were found in this position; and doubtless this is how SAIGO was so placed. He afterwards went to Mito, and became the pupil of FUJITA TOKO, a famous teacher of Chinese literature, under whom he studied so industriously that FUJITA spoke of him with pride as one of his most promising scholars. FUJITA was the confidential ally of his chief, the old Prince of Mito, in his opposition to the Bakufu; and he instilled into the young fellow's mind the like hostility. At a supper given by FUJITA to several guests, among whom was his favourite pupil, taking up a *sakatsuki* (wine-cup), he offered it, in Japanese fashion, to KITCHINOSUKE. The custom of drinking wine in Japan is this:—the host, or whoever desires to honour you, presents you with an empty cup. You hold it whilst he fills it from the *saké* bottle, and then, first raising it towards your forehead, you drink the wine and restore the cup. SAIGO asked to be excused; alleging

that he was afraid, lest, under the influence of the wine, he should act imprudently. FUJITA rallied him on his caution, telling him that a man who aimed at distinction as a samurai should never refuse his master's invitation to drink wine; and the young student, yielding, not only emptied this but several other cups. FUJITA commended his spirit; and often afterwards said that whatever he undertook he was sure to succeed in. (I am quoting in my own words, the narrative of a native writer).

Having remained with FUJITA for some years, he went to Kioto, and here became the intimate friend of GESSHO, the priest of Kiyomidzu-dera. He was either in Kioto or Osaka during the whole period between 1854 and 1859—the exciting times when first the Perry treaty and subsequently those which followed were subjects of unceasing discussion. The *Kinsé Shiriaiku* says, that, “dissatisfied with the course things were taking, and possessing definite views of his own, he formed a party, but when Iri KAMON-no-KAMI came into power, he returned to his native province.”

Now it so happened that Chotei (the imperial court) desired to send a letter containing the imperial commands to MIRO, and GESSHO was ordered to take it. He, however, committed it to SAIGO, who, much against his will, and not before he was peremptorily ordered by GESSHO, consented. What the letter was, we are not told; but it must be supposed that it was intended to be secret, as, such was the watch kept over them, that the letter could not be delivered. The Bakufu at this time ordered the apprehension of discontented samurai, and SAIGO, with others of his fellow clansmen, were especially mentioned; but fear of the power of Satsuma prevented their being actually arrested. The Bakufu also looked with suspicion upon GESSHO; and to relieve him from the unpleasant position this placed him in, SAIGO, after con-

sultation with a Satsuma man named UMEIDA, resolved to take him to Kagoshima, themselves forming his guard on the way. Engaging a *kago* GESSHO was placed in it, and they started from Kioto at midnight. UMEIDA was a brave man, but somewhat hasty. He was of opinion that if they were detected they must cut down any who should seek to oppose them. SAIGO, on the other hand, argued against any avoidable use of the sword. They *were* followed; but, we are told, "their pursuers did not dare to overtake them."

They reached Kagoshima in safety; and GESSHO was conducted to a place of safety, whilst SAIGO made known his proceedings to the officers of the clan. He was disappointed to find that his plans were not approved of, as the local officials were favourable to the Tycoon's Government. Finding that the home he had provided for his friend would not be a safe refuge, he went to GESSHO at midnight to consult him as to what should be done. Full of sorrow, and burning with indignation, at the lack of the true chivalric spirit they had expected, they agreed to put an end to their lives in the most romantic way known to the Japanese—by throwing themselves into the sea.

Affording themselves no time for reconsideration, they hurriedly made for the beach, and engaged a boat. The night was fine, and a bright moonlight shone over the mirror-like sea. They had taken with them some provisions as a blind to the boatmen, and shortly commenced to drink *saké*. The GESSHO taking a paper from his bosom, wrote a *shi* (poem) and gave it to SAIGO who read it and placed it in his bosom. He then stood up and sung loudly:—"We are going to throw our bodies as one into the sea, having but one mind; let the waves be rough, and the winds as stormy as they will." They stood and conversed for a short time, and then suddenly disappeared.

In the boat with them, besides the boatmen, were HIRANO JIRO, of Chikuzen, (the man, who has been mentioned as appealing to SHIMADZU SABURO, to take his band of ronins under his leadership in 1862): and a servant of GESSHO. They heard the splash, and watched for them to come to the surface. It was some minutes before they succeeding in recovering the bodies, which were found to be locked in each other arms. Life was extinct in that of GESSHO, but SAIGO recovered.

The clan officials were much incensed at this circumstance. They considered that the death of GESSHO cast a stigma on the hospitality of the clan. But more than this, they were angry at SAIGO's unwavering hostility to the Tycoon. They therefore banished him to the island of Oshima, where he changed his name to OSHIMA SANYEMON, because he had twice before been sent thither. The occasion of the two previous banishments was most likely some similar exhibition of hostility to the Bakufu.

In this island he became very poor; but his ambition was strengthened. He studied incessantly, and so increased his literary reputation.

After a few years he obtained a pardon, and became one of the clan officials. It is quite certain that from the time of his sojourn in Mito dates his hatred of the Bakufu. When the treaties were contemplated, he opposed them with all the energy he possessed. During the conflicts in Kyoto, he sheltered many a man who was pursued by the Government officers, and helped them to escape. He warmly supported a reconciliation between his clan and that of Choshu, and urged their combination for the overthrow of the Tycoonate. When this was accomplished he became a *Sanyo* (see page 177) and subsequently the *Sambo*, military adviser or general, of the forces sent to Yedo under ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA. At the close

of the rebellion he received as a reward for his services an estate of 2,000 kokus, and retiring to Takemura, near Kagoshima, he expended the whole in establishing and supporting a school for young samurai, called the *Shimpei Shigakko* (private school).

It was the fear of the consequences that might arise from the ambitious designs of SAIGO and the bitter disappointment of SABURO, should they put their heads together in their seclusion, that led to the course that had latterly been taken with them.

What particular influence the admission of SAIGO KITOKINOSUKE into the Cabinet had, it is impossible to say. GOTO SHOJIRO, who had remained at Osaka as *Chiji* when the Government was removed to Tokio, was also called to the capital and placed, first at the head of the Public Works Department, and afterwards made President of Sa-in—the deliberative department of the Government.

No sooner was the reconstruction effected than the following thunderbolt was hurled, in the shape of a message from the Mikado to each of the *Chihanchi* (*Chiji* or Governors of Hans) :—

“ We are of opinion that in a time of radical reform like the present, if we desire by its means to give protection and tranquillity to the people at home, and to maintain abroad equality with foreign nations, words must be made to mean in reality what they claim to signify, and the Government of the country must centre in a single whole.

“ Some time ago We gave Our sanction to the scheme by which all the clans restored to Us their registers ; We for the first time appointed *Chiji*, each to perform the duties of his office.

“ But owing to the lengthened endurance of the old system during several hundred years, there have been cases where the word only was pronounced, and the reality not performed. How is it possible for Us, under such circumstances, to give protection and tranquillity to the people, and to maintain equality with foreign nations ?

“Profoundly regretting this condition of affairs, We do now completely abolish the Hans (daimiates or clans), and convert them into Ken (Imperial Domains), with the object of diligently retrenching unnecessary expenditure, and of arriving at convenience in working; of getting rid of the unreality of names, and of abolishing the disease of Government proceeding from multiform centres.

“Do you, Our assembled servants, take well to heart, this Our will.”

August 29, 1871.

This was a heavy blow to many of the old chieftains; but it was a strong stride in the right direction. Already several of the *Chiji* had followed the example of Hosokawa, and sent in their resignation. They felt that they had but the semblance of power; their office was really held and their duties were performed by their *karo*, or chief ministers.

I have told of several clans having asked for and obtained permission to resign their hereditary rights as samurai, and to turn to industrial pursuits. But now two important clans—ECHIZEN and TOSA—petitioned that officials might discontinue the custom of wearing two swords. It was granted, with the proviso that they should be worn with ceremonial dress.

Added to these remarkable changes, an imperial Commission was appointed to collect information on Constitutional Law.

It were perhaps, presumptuous in a foreigner to say which among the many changes that have been recorded,—and they are but few as compared with all that were made—was the most important to the country at large. From the “foreign intercourse” point of view none was more so than those which resulted from this Commission.

In each of the treaties were certain articles, which

beyond all others, were objectionable to the Japanese Government. They acknowledge the propriety of their introduction in 1858; and in their own treaty, recently made with Corea, they inserted similar ones, for identically the same reasons—that they would not have their people who might visit, or settle in, Corea, subjected to cruel or badly administered laws. The clauses alluded to are, in the English treaty :—

ART. IV.—All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects in the dominions of His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

ART. V.—Japanese subjects, who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects, shall be arrested and punished by the Japanese authorities, according to the laws of Japan.

British subjects, who may commit any crime against Japanese subjects, or the subjects or citizens of any other country, shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorised thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

ART. VI.—A British subject having reason to complain of a Japanese, must proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance.

The Consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Japanese have reason to complain of a British subject, the Consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Japanese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably.

Now according to the twenty second article of the treaty, either party might demand its revision after the first of July 1872, on giving one year's previous notice to the other.

This notice, I believe, was given by the Japanese to the foreign ministers, and it was well understood that the principal object they had in view was the expungement of these clauses. It was represented to them how utterly impossible it would be to realise their wishes whilst their legal system was so imperfect; and, above all, while examination by torture was practised. The representations freely made by the foreign ministers, induced them to place the consideration of these matters in the hands of the Commission, were not administered on any fixed principle, nor in any two clans alike. There were no judges, properly so called, or regularly educated for the office, nor was there any law court specially set apart for judicial purposes. But the result of this Commission was, that all should be rectified. It was resolved that there should be proper law courts, legally-trained and independent judges, qualified lawyers, and a well-considered code of laws for their guidance. Foreign lawyers were forthwith engaged to assist in making these changes, and several able, intelligent young men, were sent to Europe and America, to study law under selected teachers, and in offices where they would see plenty of practice. Translation of law books of great merit were made; and the whole thing gone into with an earnestness that promised the best results.

With regard to the dismissal of the daimios from the Governorship of their Hans, there is something peculiarly touching in the sudden and violent wrench, which separated for ever the chiefs and their retainers. The former were ordered to live in Tokio, and thus the severance was complete.

I subjoin from a native paper an account of a farewell address of one of the chiefs, who, on account of his merit, apart from any hereditary claim, received another official appointment :—

"On the 28rd October the ex-Chiji on the Idzushi Han, who is now a Privy Councillor of the third class, namely Sengoku Jingoi informed his late retainers that for the last several hundred years the relations between his ancestors as lords, and themselves as followers, had been of the most affectionate nature, and that they had performed their duties with fidelity and loyalty. That since the diminution of the fief, which occurred some years back, the allowances of the clan had been of the most meagre kind, and that he was highly gratified at the earnest manner of their service, in spite of the general distress. That as he had now been dismissed from his office of Chiji, and was about to remove his residence to Tokio, he wished, upon taking leave of them for ever, to offer to them the contents of the accompanying lists of presents, as a small mark of his appreciation of their conduct. He would have presented them with various articles, but preferred to give them a little assistance in money towards maintaining themselves and their families.

"To each samurai of the first class seventy *rio* ; to each of the second class fifty *rio* ; to each of the third class thirty *rio*, and to each of the *sotsu*, fifteen *rio*.

"Each individual therefore received something, and as the clan consists of about a thousand families, the whole sum must have amounted to nearly thirty thousand *rio*. As the clan has always been poor, and there were no accumulated funds, he sent all the curiosities he had inherited and his own private effects to Osaka, where they were sold. He merely reserved his books for himself, and the money produced by the sale was distributed to his people."

And I may mention that there are several of the old chiefs now employed in government offices, subordinate in position to some of their old retainers.

CHAPTER XXX.

1871.

ATTACK ON MESSRS. DALLAS AND RING.—THE PUNISHMENT OF THE CULPRITS.—MR. DE LONG PRESENTS HIS CREDENTIALS AS U.S. ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.—THREE REMARKABLE PROCLAMATIONS.—THE YETAS.—A JAPANESE PHILANTHROPIST.—THE KAITAKUSHI.—APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL CAPRON.—COLONIZATION IN YEZO.—HORTICULTURE &C., IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TOKIO.—DISASTROUS TYPHOON IN THE INLAND SEA.—DEPARTURE OF THE 10TH REGIMENT AND ARRIVAL OF ROYAL MARINES.—HEALTHFUL SEASON.—FIRST TRIPS ON THE RAILWAY.—VISIT OF KOBE ATHLETIC CLUB TO YOKOHAMA.—DRS. MUELLER AND HOFFMANN ARRIVE AND ESTABLISH DAI-BIYO-IN.—CHANGES OF THE GOVERNORS OF YOKOHAMA.—MUTSU.—OYE TAKU.—THE MIKADO RECEIVES FOREIGN EMPLOYEES.

On the evening of Friday, 12th January, soon after eight o'clock, Messrs. Ring and DALLAS, two English gentlemen employed as tutors in the Kaiseijō, or Government College, in Tokio, unsuspicious of danger, were returning unattended and unarmed, along the principal street of the city, when they were suddenly attacked from

behind. Mr. RING received a severe cut on the right shoulder which also inflicted a slight scratch on the cheek, while at the same instant Mr. DALLAS was struck at the back of the head receiving a terrible wound from the right ear to the bottom of the left shoulder-blade, the sword touching the spine without severing it. Neither fell; but they ran to hide themselves in the crowd, and a third assailant who, it afterwards appeared, had nothing to do with the other two, struck Mr. RING across the back, laying it open from below the right shoulder blade to the left hip. The crowd dispersed and the wounded men found themselves side by side. Both were cool and Mr. DALLAS suggested pressing on home, a distance of about half a mile. Mr. RING declared that it was impossible for him to go more than a few steps, and they decided to go into the first house that was open. This proved to be a small paper shop, where they were kindly received. The inmates sent instantly for the police, but it was not until nearly three-quarters of an hour after the attack that some Japanese surgeons arrived.

They found the wounded men all but dead from loss of blood, but promptly sewed up and most skilfully bandaged the wounds. At about 3 A.M. Dr. WHEELER, the Legation doctor, arrived, and expressed himself perfectly satisfied with what had been done by the Japanese surgeons. Every care was taken of the wounded gentlemen, who both cherish warm feelings of gratitude for the kindness that they received at the hands of all the Japanese, and many of the foreigners connected with the College. Both being men of robust constitutions, of regular habits and in the prime of life, were ultimately restored to health, though Mr. DALLAS is crippled in his left arm and neck, and both will carry their terrible scars to their graves.

Three young samurai, former pupils of the Chinese

college, the institution which had been replaced by the Kaiseijō, were captured; and it turned out to have been a sudden whim.

Their punishment was exemplary. They were all degraded from the rank of samurai; and two of them suffered death by strangulation; the third escaping with ~~ten years penal servitude.~~

On the 9th June, Mr. DE LONG, Minister for the United States, presented to His Majesty the letter from the President announcing the promotion of His Excellency to the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. On the 14th August, he presented his credentials as Hawaiian Minister, and on the 19th, a treaty was signed between Japan and Hawaii.

About the same time three notifications were issued, the necessity for which will perhaps cause surprise to some readers who are not conversant with the curious laws of old Japan. One was that thenceforward all classes might ride on horseback. Hitherto none but samurai enjoyed this privilege; and even these were obliged to dismount, except when on Government business, whenever they met the *cortège* of a daimio or important official. A second proclamation was, giving the people permission to wear the *hakama* (loose trousers) and *haori* (*tunic*) heretofore distinctive garments of samurai. The first of these was issued in June, the second in July. Observe how gradually the advances are made—one step made secure, before another is taken.

But the third proclamation is the most remarkable of all. The *Yēta* were admitted to the privileges of citizenship, and made the equals of their fellow-countrymen. It must seem strange for any philanthropic gentle reader abroad, to be told that any but slaves could require such enfranchisement as this. But these people were not slaves. They were simply persons whose occupation was

tanning, or in any way connected with the skins of beasts. These were *Y'ta* (every unclean). They were such thorough outcasts that they were not allowed to worship the gods; they dwelt in villages by themselves, which were ignored as non-existent—so that in measuring roads, any portion of them that passed through their villages were not taken into account; nor were the people counted in the census. None would associate, and, of course, none would intermarry, with them. To them was delegated the lowest and most menial offices connected with the prisons, and the burial of those who had suffered capital punishment. Now, with one wand of their sovereign's sceptre, they were for the first time for many centuries allowed, it may be said, to have an existence. They were the equals of all around them. They were Japanese. Hitherto the prevailing idea was that they were Koreans! They were now units among the millions of Dai Nippon. It was a sublime act on the part of the Emperor and his ministers; for it was done of their own free will, without the least pressure from without. In truth, had the people been consulted, such was their ignorance, folly, and superstition, that they would have opposed it "tooth and nail." Fortunately they were not consulted. The Emperor spoke and it was done; and the world saw how truly the spirit of freedom was among the fundamental principles of the new reign.

But let it not be imagined that the old prejudices with regard to them suddenly ceased. I remember a circumstance that came within my knowledge two years later, which is worth recording as showing that Japan has its philanthropists as well as other nations.

A high officer (Sanji) of Niikawa-ken, named MRYOSHU, had endeared himself to the people over whom he was placed by his peculiarly benevolent and gentle government. He felt deeply for his fellow samurai, who at one

time seemed likely to give some trouble in his Ken, as those in some other Ken had done. Such, however, was the influence he gained over them by his gentleness and persuasive manner that this was avoided. He then took the trouble to visit each of the Kochos (ward magistrates) privately, to instruct them in the duties newly devolving on them. And on the occasion of a slight rising on the part of the farmers in certain villages of the Ken, on the subject of the land tax, he sent no subordinate officers, but went quietly among them himself, and so spoke, and explained matters to them, that they dispersed thoroughly satisfied.

At last, certain well-to-do men subscribed to establish a school in the village of Koromi, Yetchiu. Not one samurai or farmer would send his child, and on the day of opening there was not one juvenile pupil. The founders of the school, the men who provided the building and paid the schoolmaster, were Yetas. But there was one scholar who presented himself. Miyosun foresaw the objections that would be felt. He went, therefore, and entered himself as a pupil, and actually slept at the house of one of the subscribers the night before the school opened. At first it was a mere matter of astonishment to the people; but when they saw that he was really in earnest, and that he remained with the Yetas without feeling contaminated, a revulsion of opinion took place, and the school prospered.

There was an appointment made during this year upon which the Government built high hopes. It had been resolved to colonise the island of Yezo, not by the ordinary laws which govern such enterprises elsewhere, but as a Government institution. First of all a *shi* or small department was formed called the Kai-taku-shi—i.e. the department for developing the resources of the country; and this applied both to the colonization of the

northern island, and to the improvement of agriculture, horticulture and stock breeding throughout the Empire. Application was then made to the U.S. Government to secure the services of a man capable of taking charge of the department, and organising it in a useful and efficient manner. The Government offered a very high rate of pay, showing that they attached great consequence to his office. It was objected to by probably a majority of the foreign residents, when they heard that the Hon. HORACE CAPRON, Commissioner of Agriculture at Washington, had resigned his post, and accepted the tempting bait of \$20,000 a year, "to introduce the American system of agriculture" into Japan. It was argued that it would have been far better to have engaged half a dozen experienced scientific and practical farmers and gardeners, at some \$200 a month each, and let them teach the Japanese. But this was an error. It was not simply to introduce American methods of culture. It was to be the head organiser and controller of a department that would itself have several branches, of which agriculture was one, floriculture and arboriculture another, stock farming and breeding another, and even including the development of wilds, as yet without roads or even pathways. There was complete ignorance on the part of the Japanese, as to the best directions in which to make these. For Yezo is supposed to have considerable mineral resources, and as a fact these became another branch.

I mention these facts to show that the idea of the Government was good. They wanted a first class man for a special purpose, and they were willing to pay him well for his services.

The Government offered land on liberal terms to would-be colonists, even supplying them with agricultural implements, and seed of the best quality, upon the easiest possible terms of payment.

It was natural to believe that with the advantages held out there would have been myriads of applicants, especially among the ~~now~~ masterless samurai; but in this there was disappointment. Why, it is hard to say; but certain it is that colonists required a good deal of persuasion to accept the proffered lands, and leave their native districts. If the samurai had all set to work to farm the waste lands in their own vicinity, that might reasonably account for their holding back; but only a few of them did so; and it is only now, in this year of grace 1880, that ~~some~~ of the ex-daimios are taking up land in Yezo, on the Government terms, for their old retainers. If this movement becomes general, perhaps the department will after all repay the country for the heavy sums that during the past nine years have been expended upon it.

General CAPRON, for so was he always called by his countrymen here, arrived, and was either accompanied or followed by several gentlemen who have well fulfilled the duties expected of them. The island of Yezo has been minutely explored, and its resources ascertained. They are such as should lead to a satisfactory future. Its mineral wealth, especially coal, is fair; its agricultural capabilities good; and its fisheries abundant. A town was founded, as the capital of the colony, to which a host of officials were sent, where some Government buildings were erected, and to which ~~a road was made from Hakodate~~; but as yet Sapporo can hardly be said to be flourishing.

In the neighbourhood of Tokio, at Asabu, a dairy farm has been established, for which some fine cattle were imported principally from America; and at Awoyama, gardens have been laid out, where flowers, vegetables and fruits, not formerly known in Japan have been successfully cultivated. Much, therefore, has been effected by

this department ; but as yet, the outlay of the Government has been great ; the returns small. It has been from the first under the presidency of General KURODA.

There was yet another appointment made this year, under the auspices of the Washington Government. Mr. PESHINE SMITH as Counsellor on International law. The object of such an engagement is comprehensible, after what has been said a few pages back.

— July 1871, will long be remembered in Japan for the terrible and disastrous typhoon that visited the Inland Sea. " It was a catastrophe, such as neither before or since has been known from a similar cause in Japan. The injury done both ashore and afloat at Hiogo, Kobé, and all along the coast, was enormous. One foreign ship the *Pride of the Thames* dragged her anchors, went ashore and finally fell over on her beam-ends, the captain, two mates and some of the crew losing their lives. But this was but a trifle compared with the numerous junks utterly destroyed, which foundered with all on board. At Hiogo, nearly 800 houses were destroyed, 600 boats were reported lost ; and the dead were estimated as over 400. One junk that foundered had 200 persons on board, only three of whom were saved.

The 10th Regiment (1st Batt.) embarked on board the *Tamar* for Hongkong, on the 8th August, 1871. It was marked by distressing circumstances. The sun streamed down upon the men without the faintest breeze to temper it ; and they left Yokohama after the hottest night of the hottest season experienced for years. The consequence was that no less than six men, including two sergeants, were fatally stricken by the sun, between the barracks and the ship.

The detachment of Royal Marines under Colonel RICHARDS, disembarked from H. M. S. *Adventure*, and occupied the North Camp, the same day.

It should be noted that notwithstanding the extreme heat, there has never been so healthy a season in Yokohama since foreigners first came, as the summer of 1871. At its close there were no patients in the General Hospital with what may be called season illnesses; thus showing what a beneficent action the sun exercises.

On the 23rd September, after a great deal of unreasonable grumbling at the delay in constructing the railway, the rails being laid for a distance of about four miles from Nogé terminus, a trip was taken thus far by train—viz., a truck, a first class carriage and a break-van attached to an engine. Two short trips as far as Kanagawa had been taken before, the second conveying the Prime Minister to Kanagawa and back.

I will here mention as a matter of record, among the many interesting incidents of this year, one which it was hoped would have been followed by a similar one every year. It was the visit of the members of the Kobé Athletic and Rowing Club to Yokohama to engage in a friendly competition on shore and afloat. In the rowing matches the Kobé men lost the four-oared race and won in the two pair of sculls against the pair of oars in which they had the former. But in the athletic games they took 9 out of 15 prizes. Now it might well have been that the Yokohama men should return the visit of the Kobé athletes. But no! There has been no more done towards such friendly competitions, and I believe the fault is not with Kobé.

In August 1871, Drs. HOFFMANN and MUELLER arrived from Germany, to assist in establishing a Medical School. The Tono *yashiki* at Shitaya, in the neighbourhood of Uyéno, was appropriated for the purpose; and the *Dai-Biyo-In* (Great Hospital) has at this day a high position in the estimation of all Japanese. The two

gentleman, named above, were selected by the Government of Germany and lent to that of Japan, with special reference to their abilities for the task before them, each of them receiving a three years leave of absence. Both had served with the army during the Franco-German war, and on Dr. MUELLER had been conferred the Iron Cross.

On the 27th September ISEKI SAYEMON ceased to be Governor of Kanagawa, and MUTSU YAONOSUKE reigned in his stead. He was succeeded by OYE TAKU. Now both are in confinement for complicity in the SATSUMA rebellion of 1876.

On the 16th November, 1871, another step was taken by the Mikado. He had presented to him a number of foreign officers and gentlemen in Government employ, besides a few others in foreign Legations and Consulates, who had not been previously received at Court. Since then it has been quite customary for His Majesty to receive prominent foreign employés.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1871.

MARCO POLO'S GOLDEN REPORTS.—ILLUSION DISPELLED.—THE VISION OF WEALTH IN JAPAN EXCITES KUBLAI KHAN TO SEEK ITS CONQUEST, AND COLUMBUS ITS DISCOVERY.—PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH TRADERS.—LARGE RECEIPTS IN GOLD.—THE ISLAND OF SADO.—ITS GOLD MINES.—MR. GOWER APPOINTED TO SUPERINTEND THEM.—REASON OF THEIR NON-REMUNERATIVE WORKING.—RUSSIA AND SAGHALIEN.—PRISON DISCIPLINE IN JAPAN.—COMMISSIONERS SENT TO HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE TO ENQUIRE INTO THE PRISON SYSTEM.—DR. NEWTON, LOCK HOSPITALS AND VACCINATION.—HIS DEATH.—THE APPROACHING REVISION OF THE TREATIES. JAPANESE RESOLVE TO SEND AN EMBASSY TO THE TREATY POWERS.—IWAKURA ITS CHIEF.—HIS ASSISTANTS.—THE ANTECEDENTS OF IWAKURA.—DEPARTURE OF THE EMBASSY.

It is well known that, on the opening of the ports, great reliance was placed on statements of MARCO POLO, and early Dutch writers, respecting the extreme plenty of the precious metals in Japan. It did not, however, take long to dispel this illusion; for the circumstances I have dwelt upon in the earlier chapters of this narrative, speedily drained the country of its gold coinage; and

there did not appear to be any of the uncoined metal to replace it.

That there must have been considerable 'workings' at one time, is to be presumed from the fact that the wealth of the country was such as to make it celebrated even so far as Peking, where it was spoken of in fabulous terms at the Court of KUBLAI KHAN, the Tartar conqueror of China—terms, indeed, so marvellous as to rouse the cupidity of that monarch, and induce him to send an expedition to invade the country to compel the payment of tribute. Indirectly, too, it may be said that the fame of it which reached Peking was the means of the discovery of America; for, as has been pointed out by many writers, it was the wondrous story of MARCO *Millione*, of what he had heard in China, that excited in the mind of COLUMBUS the desire to endeavour find this land of uncountable treasure. In the direction he took, he would probably have succeeded, had there not been an impassable barrier—the continent of America—in the way. But this being so, the discovery of Japan by Europeans was deferred.

When, however, it came, similar tales were told both by the Portuguese and Dutch traders; and their statements appeared to be borne out by the large amount of gold they received for their merchandise.

As, up to that time, there had been but little communication between Japan and any other country it is evident that there must have been gold mines in the country; but, it is now equally apparent that they could have been but limited in extent.

On the west coast of Japan, at a distance of only three miles from Niigata, lies the island of Sado, one of the harbours of which—Ebisu-minato—is usually run for, in certain states of the weather, by vessels whose port is Niigata.

There have been, from times immemorial, gold-workings in this island; and in the spring of 1870, the Government determined to have them systematically conducted, under the superintendence of a competent foreign engineer. To this end they engaged Mr. ERASMUS J. GOWER, who having received the necessary quartz-crushing machinery from Europe, erected it at a place called Aikawa, on the western side of the island. From the description that was given at the time, it would look as if the mining operations were very extensive. It was officially stated that, in one valley alone were hundreds of mines which have been worked within the last 200 years, twenty-nine of which were now in operation. Four thousand miners, crushers, and other labourers, were employed in them; and these, with three thousand fishermen and husbandmen, composed the population of the village. A very seductive prospect was held out to the Government by the native officials on the spot. Formerly, it was stated, the natives had been in the habit of crushing the quartz with cast iron mallets, whilst the grinding and washing processes were equally primitive, so that only six to eight tons of quartz were crushed daily, and at a great expense. But by means of the new machinery it was estimated that three times the amount of work would be done, the yield being correspondingly augmented, at a very trifling increase of expense. And so indeed, it might have been; but that the Government always have a number of men on their hands for whom they are bound to find some employment; and the number of these who were sent to the mines of Sado were out of all proportion to the requirements, even had it been a more richly yielding field than it is. The consequence is the Sado gold mines are worked at a heavy annual loss.

On the 12th June, a Mr. KING, teacher in the Govern-

ment school at Niigata was attacked about 2 A.M. in his bedroom. The news of the attack having been received in Tokio, Dr. WHEELER of H.B.M.'s Legation was dispatched overland to Niigata, which he reached in eighty four hours. To this rapid travelling, it is probable that Mr. KING owed his life. He had been assaulted in the same ruffianly manner as had others before him, but the assailant does not appear to have been an adept with his weapon. He gave six distinct wounds, the first of which was on the head. The scalp was frightfully wounded, but the skull was uninjured; and although it was clear that the intention was to kill, Mr. KING was able to ward off the blows to some extent with his left arm, which was so hacked as to be useless for the remainder of his days. Strict enquiry led to the belief that, cowardly and wicked as the attack was, it was not altogether unprovoked.

Information was now received by the Government that Russia had taken full possession of Saghalien. Mr. SOYKSHIMA, one of the councillors of state, was sent up north, to endeavour to negotiate with the Russian authorities; but his journey was fruitless. Whatever the position taken up by Russia, it could not be abandoned.

This island of Saghalien had long been a bone of contention between Russia and Japan. The latter had always held it as her territory, and the inhabitants considered themselves to be the subjects of Japan, and their island a portion of that empire. But of late years, Russia, seeking an extension of her too circumscribed empire, had cast longing eyes upon it; and in 1859, as told in the first volume, Count MOURAVIEFF AMOORSKY had visited Japan on this business. The embassy sent by the Tycoon to St. Petersburg in 1867, will also be remembered; and its indecisive result. It was supposed that Saghalien had valuable coal deposits, and some of

those even who strongly objected to the tyrannical action of Russia, argued that the resources of the island would be more quickly developed by Russia than by Japan. As a fact there are no great resources to be developed; and Russia does little more to utilise them than did her insular neighbour.

Attention has long been directed, among foreigners, to the prison discipline of Japan. Among the natives who look back lovingly to the "good old times," it is very commonly asserted that in those days crime was rare. The system of mutual surveillance was so complete, that it was difficult of perpetration without discovery; and consequently the prisons were never so crowded as they are now. Political offences were not uncommon among the hot-blooded samurai; but these were not regarded as crimes in the ordinary acceptation of the word. Indeed they were often largely sympathised with, even occasionally deemed honorable; and never did the same law, either as regards imprisonment or any other penalty, apply alike to the samurai and the common people (*heimin*).

But there were always plenty of proofs that the prisons were as needful before the fall of the Tycoonate as they have been since; and the punishments awarded to the guilty were severe in the extreme. No man, however, could be punished, however clear the evidence against him, without confessing his guilt. To extort this, therefore, torture was resorted to; and to such an extent was it exercised that it appeared to be the very kernel of their inquisitorial system.

It would have been bad enough had the criminals alone suffered the hardships that had to be endured in the native prisons. But if the evidence was suspected the witnesses were incarcerated, and treated in all respects as the criminals—short of torture—until the case was

fully proved ; and as the officials of those days moved but slowly, they were oftentimes kept in ward, until they were brought to a state of starvation and weakness that made them pitiable objects to behold.

The foreign ministers, more than once, had this subject brought under their notice, and had severally appealed to the government. At last, on receiving a strong remonstrance from the British Minister, the Government requested information that might guide them in improving their ancient system. He did not hesitate in referring them to the condition of English prisons, as conducted in Hongkong and at Singapore ; and at their earnest desire promised them the assistance of one of his own attachés, should they decide upon sending a commission to those colonies for the purpose of inspecting the gaols. Three officers were appointed by the Government, and Mr. J. C. HALL, of H. B. M. Legation, accompanied them. Considerable improvements were made, as the outcome of this visit ; but much yet remains to be done before the prisons of Japan are what they should be.

In July, 1871, passed away from the scene of his beneficent labours, one of the men who deserve to be gratefully remembered by the Japanese. Dr. GEORGE NEWTON, R.N., had been sent out by the English Admiralty, at the request of the Japanese Government, to inaugurate Lock Hospitals—institutions that had become a great necessity. Had he done no more than his duty in respect of these, he would have deserved well. But he did more. Others had introduced vaccination. Dr. HEBURN, Dr. SIMMONS, Dr. VISSCHER, and Dr. JENKINS had done what they could ; but it was Dr. NEWTON who wrought so energetically as to cause the law to be passed, which rendered it compulsory on the people. Only those who remember what a scourge the

small-pox was in Japan, (as before the days of Dr. JENNER it had been elsewhere), can appreciate the importance of this action.

It is a remarkable fact that the winter of 1870-71, which was one of the brightest and most seasonable we had ever enjoyed, the atmosphere being day by day, with few intervals, clear and nectar-like for weeks together, was also the occasion of one of the severest small-pox epidemics throughout the country that had been ever known. It required some such crisis to arouse the Japanese ; and certainly it had this desirable effect. Dr. NEWTON, being in daily intercourse with the Government officials, and with several native doctors whom he had under instruction, laid his views with regard to vaccination before them. He then saw Sir HARRY PARKES, who entered warmly into his plans, and, realising how urgent was the present need, and how permanently beneficial to the country the proposed action would be, he wrote a letter to each of the foreign ministers, asking them to invite the attendance of the medical men of their nationalities at a meeting to be held at the British Consulate to take Dr. NEWTON's propositions into consideration. The Government of Kanagawa was also strongly invited to send a representative, and the request was responded to, by ISEKI SAYEMON himself, one of the Governors, being present.

All the English and American medical men, civil, military and naval, (with the exception of one or two who were prevented by their professional duties), attended the meeting.

The chair was occupied by Mr. RUSSELL ROBERTSON, the English Vice-Consul who read, from a copy of the letter that Sir HARRY had addressed to his colleagues, the proposals to be discussed. They were :—that it was desirable there should be (1) a house to house visitation

for the purpose of localising the disease. (2) Compulsory vaccination. (3) The establishment by the Japanese of an hospital by the Japanese Government for the especial use of small-pox patients.

The discussion was opened by Dr. NEWTON who stated that the first of these suggestions did not emanate from him—nor did he think a house to house visitation necessary. He had offered to take temporary charge of the hospital, and it would be put in immediate operation. In connection with it, vaccination stations would be opened, and all natives would be vaccinated.

Dr. SIMMONS agreed with Dr. NEWTON both as to the desirability of compulsory vaccination, and the non-necessity of house to house visitation.

Dr. ORTON (H.B.M. 10th Regt.) was in favour of house to house visits, and suggested the establishment of a large hospital where whole families could be segregated.

Mr. ISEKI SAYEMON, remarked, in reply to the Chairman, who expressed his belief that the Government would not go to this length, that the Government wished to take all the most effectual means to eradicate the scourge, and that there would be no difficulty about the hospital.

Dr. HEPBURN was not of opinion that it was possible to enforce "compulsory vaccination." The Japanese would never submit to any such regulation. But, as he considered vaccination to be the only *bona fide* remedy he suggested the division of Yokohama into districts under the supervision of properly instructed Japanese doctors, who should vaccinate irrespective of what Dr. NEWTON should do.

Thus it will be seen that the doctors, though differing as to details, were at one on the necessity for vaccination. And they had the gratification of finding their time and discussion were not lost. Mr. ISEKI said that

the Government would endeavour to carry out all of the several suggestions.

So it was that vaccination was made a law of the land ; the same amelioration arising from it, as has been already felt in other regions where its use has penetrated.

Dr. NEWTON died at Nagasaki on the 11th July 1871.

The period for the revision of the treaties was at hand. The Yokohama Chamber of Commerce in response to a request from the Consul at the instance of Sir HARRY PARKES, appointed a committee to draw up and lay before the general members, such views and suggestions as it might appear important or desirable to bring under the notice of the foreign representatives in anticipation of this event ; and the committee executed their task in due time. The merchants in Kobé, Nagasaki and Hakodaté being similarly invited, sent in their opinions at some length.

The Japanese Government, however, had ideas of their own. As I have already stated, they had certain ends in view which they were easily convinced would not be agreed to by any of the foreign ministers. They therefore resolved to send an embassy on a grand scale to visit the various courts of the Powers in treaty with them, that the arguments of Japan might be impartially heard, and her wishes made clear. The importance attached to this embassy may be realised on looking at its component parts. The Ambassador-in-chief was the junior Prime Minister IWAKURA Udaijin, who more than any other had been the Mikado's counsellor and guide, since the changes had taken place in the Government ; and continues to be so to this day. With him, as Vice-Ambassadors, were four heads of departments of state ; and, in addition to these, secretaries and clerks belonging to the several government offices. It was evident that the idea

was that the chiefs should form a council among themselves, with authority to represent the views of the Emperor, and consult on every question as it arose.

The early career, as told in a very few lines, by a native writer, proves IWAKURA to be a man of decided individuality. He was the son of a Kugé; naturally quick-witted, and given to speak his mind plainly. He commenced his official life as *jijin* or page to KOMEI TENNO, father and predecessor of the present Emperor. The accomplishment most admired by Japanese is the ability to improvise elegant verses in the most classical Chinese; add to this the gift of a beautiful handwriting, enabling the composer to transcribe them on a fan, a screen, or even a paper scroll, in a fair and handsome style, and you have before you something worthy of all admiration and envy. Every gentleman, every man of education, in Japan made these attainments his chief domestic study; and many a man has taken his first start in life from the happy thought, thus happily expressed and admirably written, at an opportune moment. With ladies of the upper class, who have any pretensions to education, the same acquirement is highly valued, and a favourite way of passing time was to compete in this verse making. At the Court of the Mikado, it was no less an amusement than elsewhere. But what I have to tell, will give a notion of the condition of the Mikado's palace, such as will evoke a smile of surprise. At the time when IWAKURA was a page, the Emperor having mentally composed one of these short odes, called for a *tanzaku* (a long scroll of thick Japanese paper for inscribing verses on).. There was none at hand, and actually there was no one who could supply it.

IWAKURA felt deeply that the high and holy one should thus call in vain for so small and necessary a thing; and when he was relieved from duty he went to the *yashiki*

of the *shoshidai* (the Tycoon's resident), told him of the occurrence, and begged that the possibility of its repetition be removed, by improved attention to the Imperial financial requirements. The *shoshidai* was as much moved by the recital as his visitor had been in making it, and ordered that a sum of money should forthwith be sent to the palace.

In the month of February 1858, when Mr. HARRIS was pressing the Yedo Government for a new treaty with America, HOTTA BIRCHU-NO-KAMI, was sent to Kioto, to explain the critical position of affairs, and to request that the Mikado would give his sanction. Several of the Kugé, however, presented a memorial against it, and one of those who signed it was IWAKURA. But he was not one who opposed for opposition's sake. On the contrary, when the pressure was being put upon the Bakufu to hasten the expulsion of foreigners, the TOKUGAWA officials, knowing the absurdity of the imperial commands, and that it was principally by the influence of the Kugé, who had the ear of His Sacred Majesty, that the orders were sent, pretending to acquiesce, suggested that the Kugé should unite with the Buké (samurai) in the effort; the object being that the Kugé would see the impossibility of closing the ports. IWAKURA said that it was but right; and his taking this view was so displeasing to the Court, that he was ordered to shave his head and live in seclusion. By his impartial attitude, he made enemies of all the party opposed to the Tycoon, who gave him the nick-name of Sabakuka (Bakufu helper), and for some time no one would go near him. He was not, however, a supporter of the Bakufu; any further than that he was reasonable, and would have assisted in carrying out the orders they received, rather than oppose them at every step they took.

Whilst in retirement means were at last found of communication between him, SAIGO, OKUBO, KIDO, GOTO and others of their party; so that when the change of Government was effected, he was at once released from his seclusion, and appointed a Sanyo, then a Gijo, and, when the constitution was fully arranged, Fuko-Sosai. When the seat of Government was moved to Tokio, he accompanied his imperial master; and appears under various titles—Hosho, Dainagon and others—to have been ever his closest personal adviser and friend. On receiving the appointment of Dainagon, in 1866, he was rewarded for past services with an annual income of 5,000 kokus. We have seen him selected as the special envoy from the Mikado to Satsuma. He was also similarly accredited to Choshu. In 1871 he became Gaimu-kiyo—Secretary of state for Foreign affairs—and was honoured by an unheard of mark of distinction. His Majesty paid him a visit at his yashiki. If it is called to mind that in olden days it was considered a degradation for a superior daimio to visit an inferior, as being an acknowledgement of equality, then, apart from the extraordinary circumstance of a Mikado visiting any one, it will be seen, how complete was the enfranchisement of the sovereign, and how sincere was his friendship for his valued servant. Addressing himself to IWAKURA, His Majesty said:—"I have purposely called upon you to thank you for your zeal in my service. Ever since the reform you have exerted yourself day and night to secure the happiness and tranquillity of the Empire; and the present state of prosperity has depended principally upon you."

Holding so high a place in the estimation of the Emperor, it is not surprising, that, when it was determined to send an embassy to the Courts of all the Treaty Powers, on such a scale, and with such important ends

in view, as that about to be dispatched, he was accredited as its chief.

He was raised to the rank of Udaijin, Prime Minister of the Right;—and all the foreign representatives recognised the fact that on so important an occasion he was “the right man in the right place.”

By the last P.M. Steamer which left Japan in the year 1871, the embassy departed for San Francisco, *en route* for Washington and the government capitals of Europe. From it much was anticipated. But from some cause or another, since its return, more difficulty has been experienced by foreign Ministers, in dealing with the Japanese Government, than ever was known before.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1872.

IMPERIAL VISIT TO YOKOSUKA.—FESTIVAL OF DAI-JO-YE.—
GREAT CONFLAGRATION IN TOKIO.—NISHI HONGANJI.—THE
GOVERNMENT AND THE FOREIGN CLAIMS UPON THE HANS.—
CHRISTIANS SET FREE.—AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR INVITES
JAPAN TO TAKE PART IN THE VIENNA EXHIBITION OF 1873.—
COMMISSION APPOINTED.—THE COLLECTION EXHIBITED BEFORE
DEPARTURE.—EXHIBITION AT KIOTO.—FOREIGNERS ALLOWED
TO VISIT KIOTO.—TREATY BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.—
REPORTED ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE MIKADO.—RECEPTION
OF THE EMBASSY IN SAN FRANCISCO.—THE MISSION'S
MANIFESTO.

DURING the year that had passed, the Emperor had come out of his seclusion more frequently than I have thought it necessary to mention. But from the beginning of 1872, the occasions were so frequent that the people began to recognise the fact that their sovereign was one of themselves, however celestial and sublime might be his descent. To this day they reverence him as of yore ; and they find their own means of reconciling his divine and human attributes.

On Monday, 1st January, 1872, His Majesty in-

spected the Docks at Yokosuka ; and, this being his first visit, it was made in all state. He went down by sea on board the iron-clad *Kinjo-kuan*, arriving about 3 p.m. He saw everything that was to be seen, but in the "casting department," was nearly receiving a "baptism of fire." A casting was made in Japanese characters "May the Mikado live a million years;" and another was made of his crest. The mould must have been damp, as a slight explosion took place, and red hot pieces of metal flew about in all directions, covering every one and causing a general stampede. For some seconds afterwards the visitors were clearing the hot iron off their persons ; the Mikado, who came in for his full share, amongst the number. One of the officials near him at the time of the explosion, held up his cap to save the Mikado's face.

As, on this occasion, His Majesty was for the first time seen by the general public sufficiently closely to warrant a description of him, I quote one given at the time:—"The Mikado is about 5 feet 9 inches in height, and if he cannot be called handsome, he has a dignified carriage. His face is a fine open one with a high forehead, but a large mouth somewhat detracts from its perfection. At a distance he appears to be about the middle age, but, on closer inspection his real age, about 20, becomes manifest. His hair was brushed up to the top of his head and hidden in a peculiar kind of head-dress (*kannuri*), fastened by a band round his forehead, with two black top-knots standing up about six inches from it and turning over outwards ; the whole appeared to be made of crape lacquered over. He was dressed in white, his *hakama* (trousers) of a red colour, and, as he walked along, his hands seemed to disappear in the huge folds. He wore a very large and massive chain with ornaments ; and we must not forget a pair of long polished leather

boots. His walk is not good, as he turns in his toes and shuffles along in an uncomfortable looking manner."

"Were we describing His Majesty now," I wrote two years afterwards, "we should give a very different picture. Height 5 feet 7 inches. Complexion dark. Expression good but solemn. Hair and dress European. Walk natural and active. Altogether improved."

But though His Majesty might change his outward dress, he has never changed his religion. On the 17th January, 1872, he kept the great Daijoyé festival, and "presented offerings and paid his devotions to the great God, and the other gods in Heaven and Earth."

The following notification was issued by the Government, informing the people of the meaning and origin of the festival.

"The Government having issued lately a proclamation on the subject of a festival called *Dai-jo-yé* and as this feast is all important, it has been expressly ordered to the various local authorities in all quarters of the empire, to make known to those under them the following proclamation, taking the greatest care that no omission be made.

11th Moon.

DAIJO-KUAN,
(Government Office.)

NOTICE.

"When MORIGHI-NO-MIKOTO the grandson of TENSIO DAI-GO-JIN was about to descend from heaven, his grandmother made a present to the son of Toyo-ashira-Mizuho-no-Kuni (the ancient name of Japan) saying, "My son, behold! This is the country which you are called upon to govern." So saying she presented him with an ear of rice.

"MORIGHI-NO-MIKOTO then descended from heaven to a palace of Takutiko in the country of *Hiuga* and for the first time he there planted the rice. When this rice furnished the first crop, he tasted it and such is the origin of the feast of *Dai jo yé*.

"The feast of *Shin jo yé* takes place every year, but the feast of *Dai jo yé* takes place at the beginning of each

reign only; and in fulfilling this ceremony the new Mikado celebrates his taking possession of the throne, and the Empire by TENSHO DAI-JIN. This is consequently the most important event for Japan, and this is the day of the present month on which the Emperor will worship the memory of TENSHO DAI-JIN, and of the other gods of heaven and earth.

"The following day, sitting on the high throne, he will taste the fruits of the new season, and on the same day he bestows to all his employés and servants a banquet. This is called *Toyo Akira no Setsuyé*.

"The fruits of the earth which we hold from TENSHO are the supports of the lives of man and beast, and in this way the TENSHO is responsible to his forefathers for the well-being and for the nourishment of the people with the rice. And he acquits himself of the duties with which the gods have entrusted him; consequently on the feast of *Dai jo yé* all the inhabitants of the Empire will imbue themselves with this thought, rest and devote this day to the worship of God who presides in all places over the products of the earth, to admire the virtues of TENSHO, and to express to him their acknowledgements of and faith in the welfare and happiness of the Empire."

His Majesty the Mikado paid a visit to the Naval College, Yedo, in February, but no foreigners, save Mr. BRINKLEY, Lieut. R. A., who was and is still engaged as instructor in scientific artillery in connection with the college, were present.

On the 3rd April, 1872, a calamity occurred, such as, unfortunately, the city has but too frequently experienced. A fire, originating in a yashiki lately in the occupation of the war department and very near the moat that bounds the Mikado's domain, broke out about half past 2 P.M., and, the wind blowing fiercely at the time, burnt a slice out of the city like the division of an orange, right to the sea-shore, taking in its course a considerable portion of Tskidji, adjoining the foreign settlement, and destroying much of the district

in which many foreigners had their places of business. The damage was estimated by the authorities at about \$1,500,000, but, as forty-two streets containing 5,000 houses are utterly destroyed, such an estimate is evidently far too small. Some of the yashikis burnt were very extensive and very expensively built—apart from the property that was in them.

This fire was the means of clearing the way for the great improvements that have been made in the city. The boulevard from the Railway station at Shinbashi to Kiyobashi and the excellent wide well-built cross streets all owe their origin to it. It was, however, the means, in a great measure of ruining Tskidji, as foreigners who were burnt out, never, in most instances, thought it worth their while to re-establish themselves in the city. Among the public edifices destroyed was the great temple known as Nishi Honganji.

The Monto sect is the richest Buddhist sect in Japan ; Monzeki being the title given to its high priests and monasteries. It originated with a relative of the Mikado about six hundred years ago ; its founder being Shinran Shionin. It was for centuries confined to the Imperial metropolis ; and not until the time of IYEMITZ', the third of the TOKUGAWA Shoguns, was the sect allowed to build temples in Yedo. That potentate gave permission to erect two temples—one in Asakusa, called Higashi (eastern) Honganji, the other in Tskidji, called Nishi (western) Honganji. Four times has the latter been burnt ; the last one—that which fell a victim to the flames in 1872—having been built at a cost of over \$100,000. It is now being once more erected on the old site, on a grander scale than ever ; and it is said that when completed, it will have cost little short of \$200,000. Every Japanese is supposed to be registered in some temple. The monasteries connected with the building

were fifty seven in number, and there were sixty three smaller temples within the boundaries. Each of these had a hundred houses appertaining to it. Thus the houses belonging to the temple are twelve thousand. Although Buddhist, the sect was always considered to have the patronage of the Mikado; and during the Shogunate, the two temples mentioned were all that appertained to His Majesty in the city of Yedo. These, however, were plentifully decorated with his *mong* or crest, the full blown chrysanthemum. The Monzeki or high priests are intensely venerated by their followers; they are literally worshipped almost as much as the son of heaven himself, and rank as nobles. The Monto was the only Buddhist sect which permitted its priests to marry, or partake of anything but a vegetable diet.

It will be remembered that, in taking over the territories and revenues of the daimios, the Government assumed their responsibilities. Among these were several loans that had been obtained from foreigners; some at usurious rates of interest. The reason of the high charge was, really, the certainty that the principal would not be repaid at due date. The prompt payment of such a debt was so rare as to be unknown to some of those who were in the habit of transacting business of this kind with the daimios, and the security held was seldom anything more than the seals of the chief officers of the clans. Frequently there was difficulty in recovering; and the course of law in Japanese courts was so slow, and the judgments so invariably in favour of the native, that it is surprising the loans were so easily obtained as, up to a certain period, they were. There came a day when the universal experience of the capitalists led them to refuse all such business as had not the Government seal and sanction; but loans for which these could be obtained were generally on reasonable terms,

In January 1872, the Government requested all foreigners having claims on the different *Han*, either for loans or for goods sold, to hand in statements of them by an early day, for examination ; otherwise they would not be admitted. It was not that they were immediately to be paid, but, that it was desirable to ascertain how much the Government had rendered itself liable for. Foreigners complained that, without concert with the foreign representatives, a term had been fixed, which was unreasonably short. Remonstrances were accordingly made by the latter, and the notice was withdrawn. The Government had hesitated to pay several claims that had been presented to them, on the ground of the excessive prices charged for merchandise, and the heavy interest demanded on the loans. No doubt, it may be argued that it is a mere question of bargain. The foreigners, knowing their customers, would not let them have either goods or money, except at exceptional rates ; and if the terms demanded by them were not agreed to, neither the one or the other would have been forthcoming. The foreign ministers saw this as plainly as anyone ; but it was distasteful to them to press claims in behalf of their countrymen, of a character they could not approve of ; and, as a fact, many of them were at length settled at a fair market rate of interest, and freed from some of the charges that had been added to swell their amount.

Under the numerous difficulties in which they were placed by the root and branch system they had adopted, the Government may have made many mistakes. Nay ; they did so. It were folly to deny it. But their intentions were good ; and they met with sympathy, and, wherever it was possible, support, from all the foreign powers. Never, indeed was a government more considerately dealt with. The times were trying ; but it was believed the exertions that were being made were honest

—both for the good of their country, and as to foreigners nationally and individually. Thus, though there were loud and well-founded complaints among those whose misfortune it was to have claims questioned, the most liberal construction was put on all the Government objections by the foreign officials. In the course of the year 1873, as a last resource, a Court was resorted to, consisting of Mr. TOMONO, a Japanese officer, and Mr. HANNEN, Acting Assistant Judge of H.B.M. Supreme Court, to settle disputed claims.

A feature of improvement followed the departure of the Embassy which gave a good deal of satisfaction at the time, as an instalment of a larger measure that might be looked forward to. The Mikado ordered some sixty-five Christians—who, towards the end of the previous year, had been torn from their homes—to be set at liberty and restored to their respective villages.

To the desire of securing the Embassy a favourable reception in other lands, may reasonably be attributed many ameliorations, both in home government and foreign relations, which were much needed; but which, without some such object, would hardly have been conceded.

Amongst those, however, which would probably have been agreed to under any circumstances, may be mentioned the exertions that were set on foot this spring, to make a fair representation of Japanese products, natural and industrial, at the International Exhibition that was to take place in Vienna in 1873.

H.E. HERR CALICE, came to Japan as Austrian Minister, and having presented his credentials, expressed the wish of his sovereign that Japan should take part in the great show. At first the proposal was received coldly; but ultimately a commission was appointed having as its president the Minister for Foreign Affairs. H.E. Count Fe

D'OSTIANI, Italian Minister, Mr. DOHMEN H. B. M. Vice-Consul in Tokio, Dr. WAGNER, Baron von SIEBOLD and others, were appointed a European Commission, and Mr. SANO was placed at the head of a Japanese Commission, with many assistants to collect exhibits and make as perfect a display as possible. It is needless to say how admirable was the selection sent forward; and how completely successful the effort was, not only as to its position among the other national exhibits, nor as to the present advantages in the shape of profits to the exhibitors; but as regards its lasting results. Before the collection left for Europe in the following spring, it was placed in a large *yashiki* (one of Satsuma's) within the castle boundaries, and the public were permitted to see it. But when it had all gone forward, the *yashiki* was retained as a permanent exhibition, and, under the name of *Haku-ran-kai* (the extensive view collection), it remains to this day, partaking of a somewhat educational character.

But Japan was not content with following up the *début* she made at Paris in 1867 with that she now determined upon in Vienna. She had already prepared exhibitions of her own on a very moderate scale, perhaps, but still showing the spirit that possessed her. Kioto will be almost as familiar to the reader as Tokio, from all that has been said about it; and yet the Europeans who had visited it, were few in number. It was thought that danger existed here for Europeans, beyond that existing elsewhere; for, added to the presence of large numbers of those who had shown the most undisguised hatred to them, there was the injury the city suffered through the removal of the Court to Tokio, which was likely to be attributed to foreigners directly or indirectly.

But now a public notice was issued that there was to be held at Kioto during fifty days from the 17th April, an

Exhibition, during which foreigners would be allowed to visit the city, under certain very simple and easy restrictions. They were also similarly permitted to visit certain places of note in the neighbourhood; and they were further invited to send in articles for exhibition.

The permission was availed of by numerous residents from all the Treaty ports. Nothing in the shape of a black look or uncivil word was experienced by any of them. The reports they brought on their return were such as to lead to the belief, since confirmed by all who have visited it, that the regularity and cleanliness of its streets, the interest attaching to its palaces, *yashikis* monasteries and historical localities, and the beauty of its surroundings, render Kioto the most worthy of notice and admiration of any city or town in the empire.

The exhibition was held in three temples—far apart from each other; but each famous in history—Kennin-ji, Chio-in and Hongan-ji. A gentleman who visited the city at the time wrote:—"I have but one regret, and that is, that I have not the skill to portray the fascinations of this glorious old city." And everyone who visits it has much the same feeling.

A treaty which had been agreed upon between China and Japan in 1871, was ratified, which, in its two first clauses, if words mean anything, was offensive and defensive. They were:—

I.—Henceforward China and Japan shall draw closer to each other; and to render their friendship enduring, the behaviour of each towards the other shall be that of mutual respect, without depreciation on either side. Thus lasting peace shall be maintained.

II.—China and Japan being friendly, either shall, in case of experiencing injustice or wrong from another state, be entitled to assistance or good offices from the other.

Alas! Twice since this was ratified in 1872, the two nations have been on the point of war.

A great scare occurred in Tokio towards the end of March. It was said that an attempt had been made to enter the Imperial palace to assassinate the Emperor. Foreigners were particularly warned to be on their guard, and the police throughout the city strengthened their patrols and assumed an air of intense importance.

The affair that led to it, was thus described in an official notification issued on the day of the occurrence :—

“At four o'clock this morning, (26th March), ten persons dressed in white garments, carrying long staves, and bearing the appearance of Yamabushi (a set of Shinto Priests who practice divination), came to the Oté-go-mon (the principal gate of the palace). The guard stopped them, and asked what they wanted. They said they wished to lay a complaint before the Government direct; and tried to force their way in. Upon this they were conducted within the square gate, and promised that if they had any petition to make it should be communicated to the proper authorities. But they refused to listen, and drawing their swords, advanced to attack the guard. They were therefore arrested; those who continued to resist being shot down.

There were four killed, and of the six arrested one was severely wounded. The affair soon blew over; and what became of the offenders was not made known.

The news that reached Japan of the reception of its Embassy in America, from its landing in San Francisco to its arrival in Washington, was well calculated to elate the young patriots of Japan. In the Golden city, having taken up their quarters at the Lick House, they were waited on by a Committee with an address of welcome, and, on the evening of the same day had to endure (for foreign music was to most Japanese ears little short of torture) a serenade. A day or two afterwards they

were honoured with an invitation to a public banquet; at which Ito HIRUBUMI (hitherto called SHUNSKÉ) made a speech in English, which was evidently intended to declare to the world the objects of the mission. It is therefore worth inserting entire. Some of its sentences are somewhat inflated; some of its statements not exactly in accordance with facts. But doubtless the speaker had worked himself into the belief that all was true; and so, with this manifesto I will close this chapter.

To the toast "Our distinguished guests," Mr. Ito replied:—

"GENTLEMEN—Being honored by your kind generosity I gladly express to you, and through you to the citizens of San Francisco, our heart-felt gratitude for the friendly reception which has everywhere greeted the Embassy since its arrival in your State, and especially for the marked compliment paid this evening to our nation.

"This is perhaps a fitting opportunity to give a brief and reliable outline of many improvements, being introduced into Japan. Few but native Japanese have any correct knowledge of our country's internal condition.

"Friendly intercourse with the Treaty Powers (first among which was the United States), has been maintained, and a good understanding on the part of our people has increased commercial relations.

"Our mission, under special instructions from His Majesty, the Emperor, while seeking to protect the rights and interests of our respective nations, will seek to unite them more closely in the future, convinced that we shall appreciate each other more, when we know each other better.

"By reading, hearing and by observation in foreign lands, our people have acquired a general knowledge of constitutions, habits and manners as they exist, in most foreign countries. Foreign customs are now generally understood throughout Japan.

"To-day it is the earnest wish of both our Government and people, to strive for the highest points of civilization enjoyed by more enlightened countries. Looking to this end, we have adopted their Military, Naval, Scientific

and Educational institutions, and knowledge has flowed to us freely in the wake of foreign commerce. Although our improvement has been rapid in material civilization, the mental improvement of our people has been far greater. Our wisest men, after careful observation, agree in this opinion.

"While held in absolute obedience by despotic sovereigns through many thousand years, our people knew no freedom, or liberty of thought.

"With our material improvement, they learned to understand their rightful privileges, which for ages had been denied them. Civil war was but a temporary result.

"Our Daimios magnanimously surrendered their principalities, and their voluntary action was accepted by a General Government. Within a year a feudal system, firmly established many centuries ago, has been completely abolished, without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood. (?) These wonderful results have been accomplished by the united action of a Government and people, now pressing jointly forward in the peaceful paths of progress. What country in the middle ages broke down its feudal system without war?

"These facts assure us that mental changes in Japan exceed even the material improvements. By educating our women, we hope to ensure greater intelligence in future generations. With this end in view, our maidens have already commenced to come to you for their education.

"Japan cannot claim originality as yet, but will aim to exercise practical wisdom by adopting the advantages, and avoiding the errors, taught her by the history of those enlightened nations, whose experience is their teacher.

"Scarcely a year ago, I examined minutely the financial system of the United States, and while in Washington received most valuable assistance from distinguished officers of your Treasury Department. Every detail learned, was faithfully reported to my Government, and suggestions then made, have been adopted, and some of them are now already in practical operation.

"In the Department of Public works, now under my administration, the progress has been satisfactory. Railroads are being built, both in the Eastern and Western

portions of the Empire. Telegraph wires are stretching over many hundred miles of our territory, and nearly one thousand miles will be completed within a few months. Light-houses now line our coasts, and our ship-yards are active. All these assist our civilization, and we fully acknowledge our indebtedness to you and other foreign nations.

"As Ambassadors, and as men, our greatest hope is to return from this Mission laden with results—valuable to our beloved country and calculated to advance permanently her material and intellectual condition.

"While in duty bound to protect the rights and privileges of our people, we shall aim to increase our commerce, and, by a corresponding increase of our productions, hope to create a healthy basis for their greater activity.

"As distinguished citizens of a great commercial nation, prepared for business, desirous of participating in the new commercial era now dawning auspiciously upon the Pacific, Japan offers you her hearty co-operation.

"Your modern inventions, and results of accumulated knowledge, enable you to see and do more in days, than our fathers accomplished in years.

"Time, so condensed with precious opportunities, we can ill afford to waste. Japan is anxious to press forward.

"The red disc in the centre of our National flag, shall no longer appear like a wafer over a sealed empire, but henceforth be in fact, what it is designed to be, the noble emblem of the rising sun, moving onward and upward amid the enlightened nations of the world."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1872.

HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT.—MONEY WANTED.—FOREIGN FINANCIAL ADVISER ENGAGED.—YOSHIDA KIYONARI.—ATTEMPT TO RAISE A LOAN IN AMERICA A FAILURE.—DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN EUROPE.—ULTIMATE SUCCESS THROUGH THE FRIENDLY OFFICES OF SIR HARRY PARKES.—A GUARANTEE REQUIRED, OBTAINED, AND PAID FOR.—THE JAPANESE PRESS.—STARTING OF THE “NISSHIN SHINJISHI.”—ITS IMMEDIATE EFFECTS.—IGNORANCE OF THE PEOPLE AS TO NEWSPAPERS.—THE MIKADO VISITS THE SOUTH.—SHIMADZU HISAMITZ'S PLAIN-SPOKEN ADDRESS.—UMBRAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT.—THE EMPEROR'S RETURN.—THE “MARIA LUZ” AFFAIR.—ABOLITION OF TRAFFIC IN HUMAN SERVITUDE.

THE Government, desirous to run almost before it could walk, had, in making all the changes mentioned, and many more, taken upon itself responsibilities that it became irksome to contemplate. Money—more money—was wanted; and they did not see their way to get it. Among the numerous gentlemen whom they had imported at a high rate of pay, was one who was to occupy altogether an exceptional position among foreign em-

ployés; from whom, too, they anticipated valuable assistance and advice in the Financial Department. He may have deserved all the reliance they placed on him; but one of the first steps taken after he had commenced his duties, was a singularly unfortunate one—an attempt to raise a loan in the United States.

A Commissioner, in the person of YOSHIDA KIYONARI, a Satsuma samurai of humble origin, but whose successful cultivation of the national literature was the means of raising him to distinction, was dispatched to Washington, accompanied by the new adviser, General WILLIAMS, and proposals were made to several bankers and great financiers in America—it is almost needless to say—totally without success.

YOSHIDA was a man calculated to win sympathy and esteem. He had been, at 18 years of age, sent, with MORI ARINORI and sixteen other Satsuma men, to England for study, and there he remained three years. He afterwards resided as a student in America for a time, and became generally well informed and conversant with the learning most esteemed in civilised countries.

When the new constitution was established, it seemed necessary to find places for all who had been conspicuous for either bravery or zeal in the imperial cause. Men had been put into offices in the business of which they were totally without experience—trusting, as it should seem, to the chapter of accidents, as to whether they were able to fulfil the duties or not.

Thus when YOSHIDA returned to Japan from America, he was made, with little, if any, previous experience of the department, Okura Shoyu—(i.e. Under Vice-Minister of the Finance department); and his holding this position, joined to the advantages his European and American education conferred upon him, led to his being selected for the particular mission he was now sent upon.

The Japanese *Chargé d'affaires* at Washington was his old friend and fellow-student, MORI; and much was expected from his good offices. But MORI threw cold water on the proposed loan, and told him plainly that America was not the country in which to raise it. In fact he was unable to forward his wishes at all.

It had been a particular object with the Government, acting on General WILLIAMS' advice, to get the money in America; but when that failed, with a strange fatuity, they resolved to get it anywhere rather than in London; and particularly to avoid the Oriental Bank, which had twice before come to their assistance, and relieved them from financial difficulties.

The commission therefore visited Paris, Berlin and Frankfort, where they were politely listened to, but told that their wishes could not be complied with. At last they were compelled to go whither they ought to have gone at first, to London, where they discovered that their own folly had shut every door against them. Their offer was made only to be flatly refused; and when, the last of all, they went to the Oriental Bank, they could not even obtain a hearing. They were now hopeless. They had not one resource left; and it seemed as if they must return to Japan crestfallen and disgraced.

It was at this juncture that one of the members of the mission remembered that Sir HARRY PARKES was in London, on leave of absence, and he determined to call upon him and ask his advice.

The friendly spirit he had always exhibited towards the Mikado's Government was aroused; and having ascertained exactly what was wanted, Sir HARRY obtained the approval of the Foreign Office for the step he was about to take, went himself to the Oriental Bank, and having smoothed over the provocation the Directors considered they had been subjected to, succeeded in

getting them to take the matter in hand. The difficulty was thus surmounted, and a contract was made for the required loan at 92½, bearing interest at 7 per cent, without any further expenses than the ordinary commission charged by the O.B.C. for effecting such business.

The sequel must be told. The mission no sooner Sir HARRY's saw back turned, than they professed to require a guarantee that the Oriental Bank should act up to its agreement. This was obtained from a newly established American firm in London; whose books showed, on their failure almost immediately after, a commission of 2½ per cent. *less 2 per cent. returned*—for securing the Japanese Government in the matter of the O.B.C. Loan. Where the money returned went to has never been explained. The amount of the loan was \$2,400,000.

I have in previous chapters mentioned the *Shimbun Zasshi*, as having been published weekly in the vernacular under the auspices of KIDO. Other weekly, and two daily papers had started since the first named had made its appearance. Of the daily, one, the *Mainichi Shimbun* was published in Yokohama, principally as an advertising medium; the other, the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, was published in Tokio. The meaning of their titles is the same—the Daily News. Neither dared to write leading articles nor to comment seriously on the occurrences of the day; and their columns were always defaced with such filthy paragraphs as to render them worse than contemptible in the eyes of foreigners; though they appeared to be enjoyed by the Japanese, who, for the most part, had no conception what a newspaper was, nor what were its uses.

It is not disputed that the author of this book was the means of educating them up to this point. This shall be explained in as few words as possible; and should be

omitted altogether, but for the fact that the press now is as potent as it is universal in every part of the empire. It has hosts of clever, independent writers ; and, notwithstanding somewhat repressive press-laws, and the exercise of a remarkably active censorship, all subjects are discussed with an intelligence that cannot be gainsaid. The story of the period would be incomplete if it altogether ignored the rise of the Native Press.

I had always had a strong desire to establish a vernacular newspaper ; for among the samurai I chanced to meet from the time of my first arrival, I discovered such an amount of child-like ignorance of things connected with the outer world, coupled with such an earnest desire for information and instruction, that I thought there could be no better means found than the columns of a newspaper to give them what they required. All of them seemed to be well educated in their own way ; and I have rarely met a Japanese of any class who was not well up in the history of his own country ; or at any rate in that of its greatest heroes.

About 1869 or '70, Mr. C. J. PFOUNDEN called on me with a proposal. He had so far mastered the language, as to be able, with the aid of his Japanese tutor or friend, to conduct a newspaper, if I would undertake to bring it out in the office in which the *Japan Gazette* was printed. I agreed, and obtained the necessary *katakana* type from the Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai. It then transpired that this would be of little use: as the educated Japanese only use the Chinese character with here and there a few *kana* characters interspersed. A list of these characters he was to have brought me ; but other occupation offering for him, I heard no more from him upon the subject, and the affair fell through.

In January 1872, I visited Tokio, and was met by Mr.

F. DA ROZA, who, after a few common-place greetings, said in so many words:—"Why don't you start a Japanese newspaper?" I replied, "There is nothing I desire so much. I have had it in my mind for years, and have long ago made estimates for such an enterprise. But there are many difficulties." "What are they?" he enquired. "They are Legion. My own imperfect acquaintance with the colloquial, and total ignorance of the written, language. The necessity of getting a sufficient quantity of Chinese type (which was already being cast in Tokio, but neither he nor I was aware of it). The more than probable refusal of the Government to give me permission, without which not a sheet could be issued." Besides these I mentioned a long string of smaller matters that had to be overcome in the starting of a newspaper.

He replied by meeting every one of my objections.

"I'm not very busy just now," he said, "and I will undertake, if you give me your authority, to have all the characters cut in type form in boxwood: introduce you to a learned Japanese scholar, formerly Vice-Governor of Hakodaté, who, I'm sure will act as Japanese Editor: engage a trustworthy Japanese gentleman as manager: introduce you to the Mombu-kiyo—the Secretary of State of the Education Department, and guarantee you the necessary license. In short I'll assist you in every way I can."

I gave Mr. DA ROZA *carte blanche* to act for me in making all preparations; and he accomplished promptly and effectually all he promised. He failed in nothing that he undertook to do; and I am glad to acknowledge that it was the services he rendered me, gratuitously and without thought of reward, that enabled me to launch the *Nisshin Shinjishi*—(The Reliable Daily News). Ultimately, I offered him, in return for his

permanent services, a certain share in the paper, which he accepted. Of late years attacks have been made upon the character of Mr. DA ROZA. It is under these circumstances, that I take the only opportunity I ever had, or probably ever shall have, of asserting positively and unequivocally, that during the time he was actively engaged on the *Nissein Shinjishi*, all his energies were for the good of Japan, and many improvements that followed upon the publication of articles in the paper, may be justly attributed to him; for though the articles were always written by myself, they were frequently suggested by him.

The fact that Japanese find it difficult to read anything written in their own characters, must appear curious to distant readers. It would seem most natural for them to write their own language in their own alphabet—or rather syllabary, (for every character represents a syllable); but it is not so. The Chinese characters are hieroglyphs, each conveying a distinct picture or idea, so that once mastered, they are read as quickly as our ordinary books. The Japanese syllabary of course only conveys words, and they have often so many meanings for one word that they have to read a long way before they can make out which meaning is intended. Thus all men of any education invariably use the Chinese. I was at first told that I should only require between two and three hundred Chinese characters. I found I could not make a beginning with less than twelve hundred; and these gradually augmented, until they numbered over twelve thousand separate and distinct characters, and still were daily increasing. At first I had several men employed constantly at the office, cutting in wood the characters as required; for every paper or article that came in was sure to have some one or two characters not hitherto ob-

tained, and so they were supplied as they were wanted. The blank blocks, type size, were all kept in quantities, and as particular characters were demanded, the engravers set to work and cut them. After using this wooden type for some months, I discovered that there was a regular metal type founder in the city, and so was able to replace my rough wood with good metal type; and a peculiarity that will bring a smile to the lips of foreign type-founders, was, that when any new character was required, we could send and get one, two, or any number at any time, and at one cent each.

At the risk of being egotistical—which I will endeavour to avoid as much as possible—a little more shall be added about the establishment of the paper. The work was full of interest for many reasons. The contents were precisely like those of an ordinary European paper—a few advertisements: leading articles: news items: foreign intelligence: shipping lists and price currents. For years it had been the complaint of editors of newspapers in Yokohama that theirs was thankless labour—so rarely did any results show themselves; and when they did, the public did not acknowledge whence the ideas issued that led to them. With the Japanese paper, from the outset, it was quite different. For instance, in the first, or one of the very early numbers, I had occasion to mention some activity on the part of the police, and I took care to commend it. Hardly had the paper been issued, when some police officers called at the office to thank me. I told them there was no occasion to thank me: that it was the duty of a newspaper to report police cases as well as others; and that perhaps sometimes they would find themselves censured. But, I explained to them, that if so, it was rather with the view of encouraging them to do their duty judiciously, than with the object of discouraging them by finding fault for finding

faults sake. They thanked me, and said they quite understood, and they would explain what I had said to their brother officers.

On the occasion of my going, with Mr. Da Roza as my interpreter, to the Mombu-sho, Education Department, on the matter of my license, as we returned, on a large vacant space at the foot of Suruga-dai and close to Kanda Bashi, we saw a number of small mat booths. "Now," said Mr. Da Roza, "here is a thing that you are probably a stranger to. Let us go into one of these places." We entered. I cannot tell what it was our unhappy lot to see. It was so absolutely disgusting. Suffice it that in a space about eight feet by six, surrounded by matting to a height of about eight or nine feet, open to the sky, was, at one end, a platform raised about three feet from the ground, and sufficiently deep to admit of two girls sitting comfortably on foreign-made chairs. Nothing was charged for entrance. Everyone gave what he pleased. A man stood outside and drew back the hanging piece of matting that served as a door, and a woman within received the visitors. As we entered, a little boy about ten or twelve years of age preceded us, and jumped into the space underneath the platform, and his part of the performance was simply to take the remains of a rabbit, nearly consumed in his previous performances, and to devour a portion of it—raw—like a wild beast. It was unpleasant enough, but that was all. His dog-teeth were extraordinarily long and dog-like, and this may have given his parents the idea of training him accordingly, with a view to exhibition. Of the rest I must be mute. But it led to my being introduced to a number of street exhibitions—indecent and objectionable—though none, in my estimation, were so bad as the first I had seen. I wrote a very strong paragraph on the subject. Within three or four

days, every one of them was swept away; and never since has any such obscenity been permitted in any part of Tokio.

I have mentioned these small matters to show how keenly alive the Japanese were to public criticism. But hardly a day passed, without the effects of what had been written in the paper being seen. It was evident that it was read with avidity by officials; but it took some time to find a firm footing for it among the common people. Mr. DA ROZA in his efforts to assist me in launching it had organised a staff, embracing among others several young samurai whose duties were constantly to canvass the city for subscribers. Their success was so small that he said he would try himself; and, one day, finding time from his other avocations for the purpose, he asked me to walk with him through one of the principal commercial portions of the city, and visit some of the large establishments. The class of places we visited was similar to the substantial wharfingers of Tooley Street, London—large oil merchants, wholesale grocers, wine merchants and the like; and the remarks some of them made respecting the new enterprise were amusing in the extreme. Take one as an example.

We entered the front shop or office. On the ordinary mat covered floor, raised about eighteen inches from the ground, were a number of *bantos* (clerks) squatting on their heels (in that manner natural to them but all but impossible to foreigners), some writing, some doing nothing but merely waiting for customers. In rear of all, behind a low open work rail about a foot high, knelt the proprietor; his large circular spectacles over his venerable nose; and with several thick account books before him or by his side, and a little boy kneeling near him, to do his bidding as required. Evidently there was considerable business on hand, for employes kept passing

in and out from the warehouses in rear, with papers, seeking instructions, or reporting their proceedings.

All eyes were turned upon us, and all ears opened to hear what we had to say. My companion, possessing remarkable fluency in the Japanese colloquial, was the spokesman. Addressing himself to the proprietor he told him the object of our visit. He heard all with great complacency, and we fancied with marked attention. Alas! we found that he had understood nothing. What was meant by a newspaper he had no idea. At length one of the *bantos* said, "Oh yes, Sir! You have seen the paper. You have it by you somewhere—the *Nisshin Shinjishi*. Surely, you remember." "Ah! so I have," he said, "here it is." And he produced a copy of it. He then proceeded to pay some compliments on its getting out, and the interesting news it contained from foreign countries; and we thought that one who appreciated it so much would be a certain subscriber; but when he came to the end of his praises he said nothing about taking it regularly. Mr. Da Roza suggested, therefore, that as it had given him so much satisfaction he should place his name on the list of annual subscribers. "Why?" he asked, "I've got it—what more do I want?" "Yes, you have one day's issue; and it comes out every day." "So I understand," he replied, "but having it already, why should I take it everyday?" And all the *bantos* laughed, thinking it an excellent stroke of wit, no doubt. Mr. Da Roza was about to explain, but the little boy did it for him. "Master!" the little fellow said, "You don't quite understand. It is not in the same words every day, but it comes out every morning with the news of the day before, always something new." "What?" asked the master, opening his eyes doubtfully, "As much as this changed and fresh every morning? I cannot believe it possible!" He said he would not

subscribe ; but send to his booksellers for it as he wanted it. One could not have supposed that such utter ignorance of the uses of a newspaper would have been found among such generally intelligent, substantial people. But it soon passed away. Within a couple of years there were over fifty newspapers in the country, all of them finding readers, although none as yet, save the *Nisshin Shinjishi*, was in the habit of publishing comments on passing events in the shape of articles. Now, the newspapers are counted by hundreds, and their readers seek them with avidity day by day.

Towards the end of the year the *Nisshin Shinjishi* was made the official organ of the Sa In—one of the three branches of the Daijokuan (Government) ; but ultimately the Government altered the Press Law, one of the provisions of the new law being that no foreigner should be editor or owner of a Japanese newspaper. Thereby hangs a grievance, which I do not consider this book is the proper place to ventilate : so on the ultimate fate of the paper I will be silent. The great influence exercised by the newspaper press in Japan at the present day may probably justify my having said so much as to its origin.

In the summer His Majesty the Mikado, made a tour through a portion of his dominions, journeying for the most part by sea. He visited Osaka and Kioto. In the latter place, he went a step farther than he had ever previously done, in inspecting several of the schools in the city. At one, in which several foreign teachers were employed, selected pupils from various schools were brought together and underwent examination before him. After having had all the teachers formally presented to him, His Majesty proceeded to the apartments of Mr. and Mrs. HORNDY EVANS, adjoining the large room in which the young ladies under Mrs. EVANS' instruction were as-

sembled. By His Majesty's desire they were all present—mustering upwards of 140. Their examination appeared to give the Mikado much gratification. It lasted nearly two hours; at the conclusion of which His Majesty did Mr. and Mrs. EVANS the honour to partake of refreshments offered by them.

At Osaka His Majesty enjoyed a performance of Mr. ABELL'S Equestrian troupe; and ordered Mr. ABELL on the following day to perform at the Mint, free of charge, to all foreign residents in Osaka, and all employes of the Mint, for which His Majesty liberally recouped him.

Leaving the Inland sea ports, the Emperor went to Nagasaki, and from thence to Kagoshima, where SHIMADZU SABURO took the opportunity of presenting the following plain-spoken letter:—

“THE AUGUST STUDIES OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS.

“The establishment of national principles of action, and the execution of the laws.

“The adoption of a system of dress, and strict regulation of the outward man.

“The reform of learning.

“The careful selection of human talent.

“The careful conduct of foreign relations, and the establishment of a clear distinction between the rights of Japanese and foreigners.

“The cultivation of a military spirit, and the reform of the army laws.

“The establishment of a clear distinction between the rights of noble and mean.

“The banishment of greed, the prizing of virtue, the rejection of deceitful arts, and the reverencing of truthfulness.

“The strict prohibition of debauchery, and the establishment of a strongly marked line between the sexes.

“The right of all to address the sovereign.

“The careful judgment of disputes, and rightful apportioning of reward and punishment.

“The lightening of taxes and the abatement of burdens.

“The careful calculation of income and expenditure.

"The above paper contains a summary of the opinions held by your Majesty's servant, during many years; and he entertained them at the time of his short visit to the capital some years ago (1869), but finding no convenient opportunity for expressing them, and not being favoured with your Majesty's gracious interrogation, he was obliged to be silent.

"He has now, in Your Majesty's tour, been fortunate enough to worship the heavenly countenance, and he can no longer refrain from giving vent to his humble sentiments. *In this critical moment he can no longer sit by and look on with indifference at passing events; and though he is convinced that Your Majesty cannot adopt his retrograde and unenlightened views, still, he feels that perhaps, a convenient season will never offer itself again, and he ventures to make this abrupt representation.* He most humbly apologises for his audacity; but *the fact is, that, by Your Majesty's present system of Government the fortunes of this country are daily declining; the present line, which should last for ever and ever, is in danger of falling into the vice called republicanism, and he can see, as clearly as in a mirror, that Japan will eventually become a dependency of the western barbarians.*

"Your servant, HISAMITSU, awaits any punishment for his audacity and want of reverence in speaking thus freely.

"Respectfully represented with real fear, and real awe, and prostrations.

JUSANMI HISAMITSU."

This letter gave offence to the Government, who insisted on his going to Tokio in the ensuing year to explain himself. He resisted the summons as long as he could; but at length a man of war was sent down to compel him to obey; and he went accompanied by about two hundred of his old retainers, all dressed, and wearing two swords, as of yore.

The Emperor returned about the middle of August: landing quite unexpectedly in Yokohama about midday, remaining there during the afternoon, in the course of which he held a long consultation with the Governor: travelling to Tokio, by the 6 P.M. train.

What may have been the subject of consultation with Mr. OYE TAKU, the Governor, can only be a matter of conjecture; but it may not improbably have been a case that had arisen during his absence, which placed Japan in a new light before the world.

On the 7th July, there arrived in Yokohama harbour a Peruvian barque, the *Maria Luz*, to repair damages she had received in a sudden squall at sea. She had on board 282 Chinese coolies, who were being conveyed from Macao to Peru. The day after her arrival, a gentlemen visited her specially with a view to ascertain how the coolies were treated on board. His report was published, and it concluded thus:—"Such was the condition of the vessel, and we are glad to be able to record the fact that, whatever may be the nature of some ships, the coolies on the *Maria Luz*, have, as far as we could see or learn, little to complain of, as to the manner in which they are treated."

A few evenings afterwards, a coolie from the ship was seen swimming by H.M.S. *Iron Duke*, and was taken on board. He told a pitiful story, but there was nothing to be done but to send him to H.B.M. Consul. As he clearly had no jurisdiction in the matter, he sent the man to the Japanese authorities, and they returned him to the ship.

A few days later, another coolie swam to the *Iron Duke*, whose officers, hearing that the first man had been sent on board again and severely treated, made up a purse for this second fugitive, and set him at liberty.

All this was reported to Mr. R. G. WATSON, H. B. M. Chargé d'Affaires, who went off with an officer off the *Iron Duke*, to visit the barque. There was nothing to indicate that the coolies were in an exceptionally bad condition; though it was ascertained that the first coolie who escaped to the ironclad had been punished severely on his return. His *queue* was cut off; and more

might have been elicited, but for precautions taken by the officers. The result was a representation of all the circumstances to the authorities of Kanagawa, and the Captain of the barque, Lieutenant HEREIRA of the Peruvian navy, was summoned to appear before the Japanese Acting Governor. At the examinations on the charge of cruelty to the second man who swam to the ship, matters came to light which appeared to place the Chinamen as special claimants on the protection of the Japanese authorities, and a general investigation of all the circumstances connected with their engagements took place. They were landed at the request of the Government; and evidence appeared to be so strong that many of them had been kidnapped, and none desired to go on to Peru, that the Government took upon itself the responsibility, right or wrong, of giving judgment in their favour, and the ship, after a strong protest by the Captain, had to leave without them. The case was one that excited an amount of interest all over the world that will not easily be forgotten. Japan was acting an independent part in a great cause, with the world as witnesses. Lawyers in abundance were consulted; but the advice differed. Mr. HILL, an American barrister in the service of the Government, sat on the bench beside the native judges, and assisted them throughout. Mr. PESHINE SMITH appeared to examine the witnesses on behalf of the Government; whilst Mr. DICKINS, an English barrister, acted as counsel for Captain HEREIRA. The Portuguese Consul occupied a seat on the bench throughout, and other consuls at various times—but the Court delivered its judgment independently; and it was in terms to set the Chinamen free. Opinions were anything but equally divided upon the decision. A large majority thought they were entirely in the wrong legally, however much

everyone must sympathise with their humanitarianism. Of all the Consuls, the English and American alone approved of the decision. All the rest were opposed to it.

The Government resolved to take charge of the poor coolies until the Chinese Government could be communicated with. In a few weeks CHEN, the present magistrate of the Mixed Court in Shanghai, arrived from the flowery land with profuse professions of thanks to the Japanese Government, and took his countrymen away.

Of course the matter could not rest there. Peru had to be satisfied; and the Government calmly awaited whatever consequences might arise. Everyone expected to see some Peruvian men-of-war arrive to demand satisfaction; but happily a different course was decided on. The matter was left to the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, and he gave his decision, that Japan was right.

This was a fine feather in the Mikado's cap, and it was the means of drawing universal attention to the subject, and placing the whole coolie system on an ameliorated footing.

The great feature throughout was the determination of Japan to act as she thought right, independent of all external opinion, and irrespective of consequences; and, by her conduct of the case, from first to last, she won a world-wide sympathy.

Indirectly this case wrought a beneficial change in one of the social institutions of Japan. For some time past the *Nisshin Shinjishi* and one of the foreign papers had been writing against the cruel condition of girls sold for immoral purposes; and that this was working towards the desired end was palpable from the fact that when once the *Nisshin Shinjishi* commenced, arguments and facts in support were supplied by one of the highest officers in Tokio-fu (the Tokio Municipal Government

Office), with the request that they should be made use of. Whilst this was going on, Mr. DICKINS adroitly introduced into his defence for Captain HEREIRA, the form of indenture under which the poor girls were bound. So deftly did he compare this contract with that under which the coolies were engaged, that the already inserted wedge was driven home ; and a few days afterwards the servitude was abolished, and all the old contracts were annulled. Here is a translation of the edict on the subject :—

“Trafficking in human bodies or entering employment in which the master's will is absolutely submitted to, either for a lifetime or a period of years, being wrong things and contrary to the principles by which the social relations are regulated, have, from ancient times, been prohibited. The practice of forcing individuals to go into service under such names as ‘service for a period of years,’ &c., which has hitherto existed, being an abominable thing which amounts to trafficking, is henceforth rigidly interdicted. It is freely permitted to take pupil servants (apprentices) to be instructed in farming or any handicraft, but the period must not exceed seven years. The period may, however, be extended by mutual agreement. Ordinary servants shall be engaged for one year, and if a person continues for a longer term the contract must be renewed. Prostitutes, singing and dancing girls, and all other persons engaged for a term of years, shall be set free, and no complaints about money lent or borrowed will be attended to. The above must be rigidly obeyed.

DAIJO-KUAN.

2 November 1872.”

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1872.

YEDO EXHIBITION.—GRAVE OF WILL ADAMS DISCOVERED.—
OUTBREAK AT NIIGATA.—RAILWAY FROM YOKOHAMA OPENED TO
SHINAGAWA.—YEZO COLONIZATION.—THE COREAN INSULTS.—
BURNING OF THE P.M.S. AMERICA.—STATE OPENING OF THE
RAILWAY BY THE MIKADO.—ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.—DR.
HEPBURN PRESENTS A BIBLE TO THE MIKADO.—VISIT OF
H.I.H. THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS.—THE MIKADO VISITS THE
RUSSIAN FRIGATE.—DIRECT SHIPMENTS OF RICE TO ENGLAND.
—EDICT ON THE FASHION OF WEARING THE HAIR.—THE
JAPANESE ARMY.—GENERAL YAMAGATA.—THE CONSCRIPT
RULES.—STRENGTH OF THE ARMY.—THE FRENCH MILITARY
MISSION.—IMPERIAL MARINES.—THE NAVY.

An exhibition in Yedo was held in the temple of Confucius in May, but it was a small one as compared with that of Kioto.

In June 1872, the discovery was made by Mr. WALTERS, of the graves of Will Adams, (generally supposed to be the first Englishman who ever visited Japan), and his wife.

A serious outbreak occurred in Niigata in the month of May, which the soldiers had to be called out to

put down. Very serious troubles also took place about this time in the Mito province.

The Railway between Yokohama and Yedo, was opened in July, as far as Shinagawa. The consequence was that the old Tokaido, or so much of that celebrated road as lay between Kanagawa and Shinagawa became almost entirely deserted. The coaches, which had become numerous up to that time, ceased running entirely, and the steamboats which had been doing a fair business from Yokohama to the river Sumida, Tokio, gave up altogether. The coaches, however, became absorbed in Tokio itself, and on one or two outlying roads; and probably those owned by natives do quite as well now as ever they did. One line of coaches from Tokio to Takasaki, a distance of 36 ri (90 miles) has proved very useful.

Six hundred able-bodied men embarked at this time for the colonization of Yezo; several Ainos also arrived from Yezo for instruction in Tokio.

In July 1872, was published in the *Nisskin Shinjishi* a letter that had been written from Corea to Japan, and was the foundation of the excitement that had been aroused throughout Japan against Corea. The letter teemed with taunts and insults to Japan, and fairly challenged the Government to fight.

"We, Coreans," said the letter, "are a very small country, but yet we have the courage to put in writing to you, that western barbarians are beasts. The above we intend as a direct insult to you and your allies, the barbarians. We desire that you should join them and bring your great ships and your army here. Fusankai is the nearest port of Corea to Japan. To make your attack as inexpensive as possible to you and your friends we will send and clear Fusankai for a battle field, and will appoint the battle. It is useless to go into any

correspondence, because the wrong you have done to us is so great, that your apologies will not avail. The only alternative is a bloody war. A war that will cost Japan all its warriors;—and then we will bring you to terms. This is our intention. You must not attempt to write to us again; and the above is a notice to you to make all preparations; for either Japan must invade Corea, or Corea will invade Japan.”

The Government denied that this letter had been received; but it has long since been proved most conclusively that it was, and that it was only one of several insults received from Corea.

On the 24th August, 1872, occurred that terrible catastrophe in Yokohama harbour which none who saw it will ever forget—the burning of the magnificent P. M. Steamer *America*, with the loss of 60 human beings. It was the largest wooden steamer in the world; and had only arrived from San Francisco on the morning of the day the close of which was followed by its total destruction.

The opening of the Tokio and Yokohama railway in state by the Mikado took place on the 14th October, 1872. The trains had been running for three months as far as Shinagawa; but, now the line was complete, and His Majesty, for the first time, took part in a great public ceremonial and received addresses from the mercantile class, both native and foreign, in Yokohama. It was a really important event, and well worthy of being kept in record. Since that period, the Mikado has been much more engaged in public spectacles, and constantly visible to his subjects.

The first meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Gaiety Theatre on the 30th October, 1872, R. G. WATSON, Esquire, H. B. M.'s Chargé d'Affaires in the chair. The first papers read were by Mr.

SATOW "On the Loo-Choo Islands," and by Mr. HADLOW on the "*Hyaronema mirabilis* or glass coral" so plentifully found in the coast. The growth of the society has been steady from that time onward; and the published proceedings form a very useful and interesting addition to our bookshelves.

Among the most noticeable signs of the times, not from any immediate results that were likely to follow, but as shewing how earnestly the Mikado had set himself to propitiate foreigners, was His Majesty's acceptance of a Bible from the hands of Dr. HEPBURN, on behalf of his Mission, which H. E. the U. S. Minister, Mr. DE LONG, obtained permission for him to present. It was in English, and probably has not been often opened by His Majesty; but he could hardly allow it to enter the palace, and continue to sanction the edicts against those who believe in it. In reality long after this those edicts remained on the public notice boards.

In November 1872, Japan was favoured with another princely visitor, in the person of the Grand Duke Alexis, son of the Emperor of Russia. His Highness was a lieutenant on board H. I. R. M. S. Svetlana. He was, received by the Mikado in the most distinguished manner; the palace En-rio Kuan was placed at his disposal; and efforts, even greater than those put forth on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit, were made for his delectation. He was the first foreigner ever admitted to a seat in the imperial carriage with His Majesty.

On the 25th November, the Mikado paid a visit to the Russian squadron in Yokohama harbour, as the guest of H. I. H. the Grand Duke Alexis.

This was the most remarkable sign of progress towards European amenities that had been displayed by the Mikado. If my memory be not treacherous it was the

last occasion on which His Majesty wore his native costume in public.

The Mikado first went on board his own ironclad the *Riujo*, and was received by the Japanese Admiral. The imperial standard was run up to the main truck, and the Imperial Marine band played the National Anthem of Japan. The Grand Duke accompanied his Majesty, and the Russian flag being hauled up side by side with the Japanese flag, the Russian Hymn was played also by the band. His Majesty having inspected the ship, after a very short stay, left for the Russian frigate *Svetlana*. It is impossible to recount all the doings of that most agreeable day; but the Mikado seemed to enjoy them most thoroughly. In place of sitting motionless almost hidden by curtains, to receive the flattery of his courtiers, His Majesty was exhibiting an interest in the affairs of his realm, cultivating the friendship and respect of a fellow ruler, learning what may be an important lesson for his people, and setting an example of friendship to foreigners of a most important nature.

The Grand Duke Alexis accepted an invitation to a grand ball given in his honour at the German Club by the residents during his stay; and nothing was left undone by His Majesty, the Government, or by foreigners, that could tend towards his pleasure and happiness.

In December, 1872, the first direct shipments of Rice from this country to England left Kobe in the *Collinghame* and *Doreby*.

About this time, edicts from the government appeared ordering the Japanese to discontinue their old fashion of shaving the top of the head, and that they should wear their hair after the foreign style. It was very generally obeyed, but still many men adhere to the old style.

I ought, perhaps, long ere this to have alluded at greater length, and more specifically than I have yet

done, to the army of Japan; but whilst it was in a transition state, and composed principally of samurai from some of the clans, it was useless. Now, however, all was about to be changed. The samurai were to be no longer the exclusively military race. All the people were liable to serve, and the continental conscript system was adopted; a number of French officers and men being engaged to instruct them.

General YAMAGATA had given his greatest attention to the organisation of this department; and most Japanese, but certainly the samurai, considered it the most important of all the state departments. An amusing incident, in the autumn of 1873, will illustrate the fact. On the occasion of SOYESHIMA's successful diplomatic mission, as ambassador from the Mikado to the Emperor of China, an article had appeared in the *Nisshin Shinjishi*, giving him credit for the manner in which he had performed his duties.

It shows the impulsive, jealous disposition of the race, that a day or two afterwards I received a letter, which, while giving correctly facts that aptly fit in with my narrative, is thoroughly characteristic of the samurai class:—

“In your valuable paper—No. 78—of this year, you say there are a few persons, who are engaged in the Government and labour for the benefit of Japan. And, although you desire to say who is most able, there is only one, SOYESHIMA, whom you would honour. I am very doubtful of the justice of this.

“My opinion is, that those few persons of whom you have told, have already displayed great deeds towards our Government and Japan, and they are not inferior to SOYESHIMA—only people do not hear of their deeds.

“For example I will mention one.

“Which is the most important of all the nine departments? The department which has made such wonderful progress, that the honour of Japan has been increased

at home, and which can compare with foreign countries abroad? The department which has grown extremely large and strong, and which contains most able officers? I ask, which is that?

"I am sure it is the War department.

"What makes this department so superior to others?

"He who improved it so much is YAMAGATA, the minister of the department.

"In his youth he was devoted to the art of war, and attained great cleverness in it; and he has been able to turn his cleverness to account. He first entered the service of Choshiu; and rose by degrees from a common soldier to the command of a regiment. He was always most loyal to the imperial family; and in Oshiu he showed great valour and received large rewards. When Oshiu was tranquillised, by the Emperor's order, he visited several foreign countries, and returned to Japan after a year's absence.

"At that time ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA was Hiobu-kiyo, (Minister of War) and the KUGA was Shoyiu. As the work was too heavy for them, YAMAGATA was selected as Shoyiu to help them. He at once set to work, recommended and carried into effect, the erection of military stations throughout the Empire, as, for instance, those of Saikaido, Tokaido, Hokkaido. He then called a strong force consisting of the three hans of Satsuma, Choshiu, and Tosa, to protect Tokio from violation by the other clans, and when, finally the han were abolished and ken were established, he dispersed the old clan soldiers, who returned their weapons into the Government stores.

"The four military stations were now selected by him.

"He raised the body-guard for the emperor. He also removed the military school at Tokio, and engaged many French teachers. By the benevolence of YAMAGATA the art of war was placed perfectly within their attainment. Daily drill and instruction have brought the army into its present perfect state. He next appointed the six divisions of the army; and now the art of war is very perfect—*quite enough so for practical purposes (!)*.

"Although the influence of His Imperial Majesty now shines throughout the world, the perfection of the army is due to YAMAGATA alone, whose selection of officers is excellent. For example SAIGO Taiyu, YANADA Shosho,

TORIWO, KIRINO, MIURA, TANI, NODZU, ASA, MIYOSHI, NISHI, OZAWA, are all very capable officers. They all help YAMAGATA ; and are soldiers by nature (!).

" Thus are YAMAGATA's deeds displayed at home, and people do not observe them. They are negative. On the contrary, the deeds of SOYESHIMA were done abroad, and all men saw them. They are positive. But wise men can compare the two for themselves without any further expression of opinion from me."

The conscript rules were these :—All Japanese subjects were liable to service either in the army or navy for three years, from the age of twenty. Officers of the lower grades were to be selected by the officers of the corps, but must then serve seven years more. Commissions were to be granted after a course of instruction and examination. After their term of service expired, conscripts were to form a reserve, assembled once a year for drill. Two years passed in the reserve, they were to be placed in a second reserve, only liable to be called out in case of a levy *en masse*. A militia formed of all males between the ages of 17 and 40, exempted from service in the above, were to be formed into troops for district protection whenever a general levy takes place. The military force of Japan was to be :—

	<i>Force.</i>	<i>In peace.</i>	<i>War footing.</i>	<i>Household troops.</i>
Infantry	26,880	40,320	3,200	
Cavalry	360	450	150	
Artillery	2,160	2,700	300	
Engineers	1,200	1,500	150	
Military Train	360	480	80	
Marine Artillery	720	900	—	
	<hr/> 31,680	<hr/> 46,350	<hr/> 3,880	

It cannot be denied that the officers of the French Military Mission, did their work well. They have succeeded in making the army a fine soldier-like body of men ; and if the Japanese officers, who are themselves

thoroughly imbued with the military spirit, can only control the impulses of their men, and preserve discipline in action, the pride of the nation in their drilled troops may prove to be justified.

The Imperial Marines had been for some years under the teaching of Lieut. HAWES, R.M.A., who succeeded in making it, like the marines of England, the finest corps in the service of their sovereign. The Navy received good service from Captain JAMES, than whom no one has done more to bring it to its present efficient state. Indeed, from the first, the Government has been fortunate in all the officers of whatever nationality whose assistance they have had in forming their army and navy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1873.

THE CHANGE IN THE CALENDAR.—RECEPTION OF LADIES BY THE EMPRESS.—POSITION OF THE EMPRESS IN JAPAN.—IMPROVED INTERCOURSE DUE TO THE DESIRE OF A PROPER RECEPTION OF THE EMBASSY ABROAD.—THE LADIES OF THE PALACE.—TROUBLES THREATENED IN THE PROVINCES.—DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE.—EDUCATION.—THE NEW SCHOOL PLANS.—CHRISTIANS RESTORED TO THEIR HOMES.—PERUVIAN ENVOY ARRIVES AND A TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN JAPAN AND PERU.

It may not be universally known out of Japan, that in olden days their year followed the Chinese computation, according to which the New Year fell on some day between the middle of January and the end of February. The years were not numbered from any ancient period, but the Emperor named the epochs, and the epochs were changed on any great or particularly stirring event.

The great event of January 1873, was the alteration of the calendar throughout the Empire. From the first day of January the Japanese year was to run synchronously with the foreign. The hours of the day were also no longer computed by the old Japanese method, but

followed the clock. The foolish method of computing their age as two years on the New Year's day after their birth (so that a child born on the last day of the old year was two years old on the following day) was abolished; and the proper method adopted. The number of the Calendar year was taken from the establishment of the Empire under JIMMU TENNO and was made 2583 Japanese era. Consequently this present year is the year 2540. In this particular, however, even the Government does not follow its own rule; as it invariably names the epoch and not the year. This is according to them therefore the 13th year of Meiji.

We are now approaching so closely times within the experience of a majority of the present residents that I will depart in some degree from the close attention to events large or small that have occurred, and notice only those likely to be of particular interest, or marking progress in any special direction.

Among these will certainly be classed the fact that on the 16th January the Empress received Mrs. DE LONG and MADAME BUTZOW, the wives of the American and Russian Ministers—the first occasion on which foreign ladies had been admitted to the palace; though the Empress had received the foreign ambassadors the previous year.

This was an advance of some significance, but it was not altogether the same thing as the reception by the wife of an Emperor in other lands. In Japan, the wife does not take a title conveying to a Japanese mind the idea of equality with her husband; nor is she considered as his equal. The lady whom we designate the Empress is not even entitled to be addressed as Your Majesty. What degree of respect is paid her by the other ladies in the palace, no foreigner can possibly have become acquainted with. The Emperor is permitted to

have twelve second wives, who are always high-born ladies, and thus it is that in case of failure of progeny by the Kogo or first wife, the dynasty is preserved in the direct line. Heretofore all the ladies, the Kogo as well as the others, were kept strictly within the limits assigned to them within the palace domain. And the great significance of the reception I have noticed lay in the Mikado's departure from one of the most rigid of Japanese customs, in permitting his wife to set national prejudices at defiance, and to appear before foreigners as his equal. It was another recognition of the propriety of the freedom accorded to women in western countries; and the practical exhibition of a desire to place them in Japan on the same level as their husbands.

What the real motives may have been can only be conjectured. Much that was done in the way of improved intercourse during the time that the Embassy was absent from Japan was directly due to the hope of its securing the members of that mission a good reception at foreign courts. As an instance of this was the stand made by Mr. R. G. WATSON, the English Chargé d'Affaires, who refused to be received by the Mikado, unless His Majesty followed the practice of other sovereigns, who receive the representatives of friendly rulers standing. It had hitherto been the custom of the Mikado to remain seated during such audiences; and as any change from this was rather firmly opposed on the part of the imperial advisers, the day for his reception was delayed. Probably nothing would have induced the Government to reconsider the matter, but the one representation quietly let drop by Mr. WATSON, that on the settlement of this depended the reception of the Japanese Ambassador by the Queen. This fell like a meteorolite among them, and the point was gained.

The word "progress" has to be used very often, but

frequently it was more apparent than real. It will not be denied, that the march of enlightenment was in many respects truly and steadily progressive, but there were also cases where a change more or less startling was effected, and went no further.

The entry of the Empress into what I may call public life did not altogether stop on the threshold. Her Majesty (for so we will call her, however the Japanese may object to it) has the character of a clever, amiable, woman; deeply imbued with the foreign ideas respecting the *status* of woman, and the influence she exercises in the state as well as in the domestic circle. Thus the papers periodically record her benevolent action in furthering schemes for the amelioration of the position of her sex. But beyond this she is rarely heard of. Occasionally we read of His Majesty and the Empress going here or there; but even then, they have never once occupied the same carriage. There have been a few receptions since that mentioned above—but only a few; and they have never led to further intercourse.

I mention this, because it would have seemed but natural, that a lady in her exalted position, admittedly clever according to a Japanese standard, but comparatively ignorant of any of the learning, or even the ordinary information, possessed by ladies of the western world, would have been glad to consult them on such subjects as she has shown herself to have at heart. It is the more remarkable that she has not done so, because, having as yet no family cares, her time must occasionally hang heavily; and as a mere amusement it would have been an agreeable way of passing it and gaining instruction at the same time.

The inner life of the palace is a sealed book. This much, however, may be told. The ladies have a large space set apart for them—each wife, (if that be the title

we may give them) having five or six rooms. Each also has female attendants of a certain rank to attend upon her. These again have their servants; and these also have those who wait upon them; so that they form as it were, a community of several families. They may either visit one another or live apart, as they please; but generally they find many ways of passing their time. Needlework and embroidery, playing at *go* (a kind of chess) or some other Japanese game, music and singing, all bear their part; but with many of them, reading books of poetry or light tales, or composing poems is a principal amusement. Exercise for health's sake is never thought of. Year in, year out, their lives are sedentary and convent like. To them, doubtless, it is endurable, for they know nothing better; but to any who have ever experienced freedom of intercourse with their fellow-creatures it would be intolerable.

It is said that the Empress is commonly consulted by the Mikado in affairs of importance, and that her judgment is generally sound and patriotic.

Early in 1873, the mutterings which had been heard in so many directions gave signs of breaking forth into irruption. In Kiushiu several of the Ken became openly disaffected; but the safeguard for the Government was this:—that they did not combine, but rebelled separately, one after another; and thus could be dealt with by their own officials with the means of repression they had at their disposal.

The cause of the uneasiness was generally connected with taxation; though when once an actual rising took place, a number of demands were added.

The Government, requiring actual coin to meet their heavy engagements, had changed the system of levying the land-tax.

Under the old system the land had not been all equally taxed. But speaking roundly it might be said to amount to one third of the yield, payable in kind.

The land was generally sold at so much a tan of 300 tsubos—about a quarter of an acre; and in purchasing the amount of tax was always taken into consideration. This was fixed by an arbitrary assessment; but it often happened that, either through bribery or favour, the assessment had been fixed much lower than it should have been, and thus proprietors sat at a light taxation instead of the heavy one that ought to have been required of them.

Although, therefore, those who were fully assessed might be supposed to feel the weight of so heavy a mulct as one third of their produce, yet they were content, for they had paid for their land accordingly; whilst those who had succeeded in obtaining an easy assessment, had but a light tax to pay; and both the one and the other paid in kind.

But the Government introduced another system of assessment. All lands were divided into three classes—first, second and third class; and the tax of three *per cent.* was arbitrarily fixed on the estimated yield of the registered class of the land. The tax was in reality lighter than formerly—but the people would not see it; and hence arose these disturbances.

All of the Ken in which outbreaks occurred, gave into the Kencho (the Government office) a list of their special grievances. Thus one made the following demands:—

“That the price of rice be lowered.

“That foreigners be not permitted to travel through the district.

“That the conscription law be repealed.

“That the old system of levying the land-tax be returned to.

“That the expense of new title deeds be borne by the Government.

"That the new national schools be abolished, and the old private schools system restored.

"That no charge be made for printed books of proclamations.

"That the new calendar be revoked, and the old one restored. And

"That the men should be allowed to shave the top of their heads, as before."

This was in Kiushiu, the southern island. In Yezo, the northern island, riots took place at Yesashi, the people refusing to pay a ten *per cent.* tax on the yield of the herring fisheries, but offering to pay three per cent. The Government was firm, and the rioters pulled down the houses of the officials, and attacked the Government house.

In no one instance did the rioters succeed ; but I shall presently have to tell of a more serious outbreak than any of these—so will pass on.

Among the above *items* is one referring to the old and new school systems.

During the previous year, the Education Department had been remodelled. It now ordained that education should be brought within every one's reach ; and no less than 53,000 schools were to be established under Government auspices. This was the scheme, according to a circular issued by the department :—

The country was to be divided into eight grand districts, each of which would have its own university, with thirty-two middle schools, and two hundred and ten academies, in which foreign languages would be taught to the higher classes. Besides these there were to be public schools for boys and girls six years old and upwards. In the middle schools the charge for tuition was \$5 a month, and in the universities \$7.50—a high charge for Japanese to pay.

But a great feature of the scheme was, that, from the

middle schools, a hundred and fifty students were to be sent abroad annually, and supported upon a stipend of \$1,000—about £200, a year. From the universities, thirty were to be sent abroad every year, to pursue higher studies, on an allowance of \$1,800—about £360 *per annum*.

There was a liberality on the face of this that could not but evoke sympathy. It gave the best assurance possible of the real value they placed on education ; and I might almost say there is something touching in the tacit acknowledgment it presented of the backwardness in which they found themselves directly they came in earnest and regular intercourse with those who hitherto had been in their eyes as barbarians. Unlike the Chinese, they set themselves to study with avidity, on a system they had never known before. They had their learned men—men as learned in Chinese lore—their classics—as the most accomplished classical scholars among ourselves ; but these seemed as children with regard to knowledge of the world. Indeed there are at this day thousands of Japanese—men of intellect and in high esteem for their scholarship and erudition according to the old ideas—who really know less than the pupils in the middle schools, of the outer world and what is going on in it. As I write I have at my side a young Japanese gentleman, who is a fair English scholar, and who, for many years, has acted as one of my translators, filling the office of interpreter to a foreign firm during my recent absence from Japan. He lives away from his father's house, and rarely visits it, because his parents are so thoroughly of the old school that they actually sprinkle salt in the house and before the entrance, to purify it and keep away evil influences, which they suppose accompany one so much mixed up with foreigners,

The school plan above described is still being carried out in accordance with the original intention, except as regards the sending so many pupils abroad. It was found, very soon after it had been determined upon, that several youths who had gone to European and American colleges, returned to Japan with more or less familiarity with the learning most esteemed in the country to which they had been sent, but with a forgetfulness of their own language ; so that they had again to acquire that before they could be of any service to the Government. Although, therefore, a few have gone forward, the number is limited. But for some of the colleges, particularly the *Kaisei Gakko* (now called *Dai Gakko Nanko*) in Tokio, foreign professors—American, German, French and English, have been engaged ; who have wrought so well, that the educational course is hardly less complete than at similar institutions in the west.

It is a very common remark of gentlemen who have commenced the study of foreign languages when they were men or approaching manhood, that their early life was wasted, and how different would be their condition if the years devoted to Chinese literature, which taught them nothing useful or practical, had been spent in acquiring foreign lore. After a certain age they find it hopeless to attempt to pronounce a strange language with any approach to correctness.

In the public schools above mentioned, no foreign language was taught ; but the basis of education has been after foreign methods. Many valuable text books were translated into Japanese, and teachers were supplied from a Normal or training school under the charge of an experienced American gentleman, Mr. Scott, who made his arduous duties a labour of love. There are now several of these Normal schools in the country.

In the new scheme Chinese learning occupied a

secondary place. So that it may easily be understood with what jealousy the changes in this, as in everything else, were viewed. Indeed it is not to be wondered at. Nothing was as it had formerly been. The students of all ages had sat upon their heels, with their knees and toes on the clean soft mats with which the floors were covered. They now had to sit on benches or forms at desks, the floors being plain deal boards, without any matting. Those who had their meals at the schools, had to eat food cooked in the foreign style, and to use knives and forks instead of *hashi* (chop-sticks). It is a curious fact that an idea prevails that they cannot study so well on their own fare as upon a meat diet; and if an attempt be made to combat this idea, they point to the number of weak-chested, consumptive men who have been great students under the old system. In all likelihood this arises not so much from the food as from the position, and from the lack of exercise.

It cannot be otherwise than noticeable, how, as yet, before anything new could be learnt or introduced, old things had to be rooted up and swept away. We now see that most of their efforts have succeeded; but those who witnessed the rapidity with which these measures followed each other, may be pardoned for being prophets of evil. All was experimental. But as it was determined to make the experiments, it was deemed compulsory to begin from the foundations, and to clear away all the old rubbish. It did not seem probable that the people would accept this wholesale reform willingly; and it has been seen that they did not. Yet the Government went on its way nothing daunted.

In March 1872, the Christians who had been dispersed from Nagasaki, were permitted to return to their homes—but they were sadly reduced in numbers. This step

was taken in consequence of a joint representation by Count TURENNE and Mr. R. G. WATSON, the French and English *Chargés d'Affaires*, that if persecution continued it would make a great difference as to the cordiality with which the Embassy would be received at foreign courts.

During this month, the Maria Luz affair was heard of again, but in a manner quite different from what had been expected. Don GARCIA Y GARCIA arrived, accredited as Peruvian Minister, for the purpose of making a treaty, and adjusting the differences that had spring up in the matter of the coolie ship. The treaty was made, and it was arranged that the Czar should be asked to arbitrate in the case. His award has already been told. It was in favour of Japan. The Peruvian Envoy passed on to China ; but he found it much more difficult to treat with the celestial ministers at Peking. His advances were met with a firm refusal to negotiate whilst there was one Chinaman in Peru against his will.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1872.

SOYESHIMA ACCREDITED AMBASSADOR TO CHINA.—OUTRAGE OF FORMOSAN SAVAGES ON WRECKED LIUKIANS.—RELATIONS OF LIUKIU TO JAPAN.—THE KING OF LIUKIU'S ACCOUNT OF THEM.—SOYESHIMA AT PEKING.—CHINESE GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS THE PUNISHMENT OF THE FORMOSAN SAVAGE TRIBES BY JAPAN.

I HAVE mentioned SOYESHIMA, as having been sent up to Saghalien, to endeavour on the part of the Japanese Government, to arrange with the Russian commandant, for the peaceful joint occupation of the island by Japanese and Russians. No success attended that mission; but on the 12th March he left Tokio on a more important one. He arrived at the court of Peking as a full-blown ambassador, with the object, as was alleged, of inducing the Chinese to punish the Formosan aborigines who had brutally murdered the crews of certain Liukiu (Loochoo) junks that had been wrecked on the island. It is this affair that has given rise to all the disagreement that has since existed between China and Japan.

On the 6th September 1871, sixty Liukiuans were wrecked on the eastern coast of Formosa, and murdered

by the Boutans, one of the untamed tribes inhabiting the region. As long ago as 1867, similar cruelty had been meted to the captain, his wife, officers and crew, of the American barque Rover. In consequence of this, General LE GENDRE, then U.S. Consul for Amoy, (one of the open ports on the coast of China, open to foreign trade—within a day's steaming distance from Taiwan-fu, the principal port of Formosa), obtained a gunboat from the Chinese Government, went to the island, and, supported by a force of about 2,000 men and some artillery, supplied by the Chinese commander at Taiwan, made for the place where the atrocity had occurred. After an investigation he spared the natives from punishment, on condition of their entering into a treaty to behave humanely towards castaways in the future. From that time General LE GENDRE had kept up a regular communication with the islanders, who held him in great respect.

When he heard of the massacre of the Liukiuns General LE GENDRE went over in the U.S. gunboat Ashuelot to enquire how it was the treaty had been broken? Several wrecks had previously occurred, in which the crews were protected; but the savages gave for an excuse that they took the Liukiuns for Chinese, who, they said, were exempted from protection according to the terms of the treaty.

Liukiu, for centuries has occupied an anomalous position. The islands have been an appanage of the Princes of SATSUMA since the year 1609, and, as the permission for their invasion was given to Satsuma by the Shogun in the year mentioned, they were looked upon as belonging to Japan.

The King of Liukiu's own story is as follows:—

“Our country first commenced to pay tribute to China, and to be under her dominion, in the fifth year of Hung-Wu of the Ming Dynasty, 29th year of the 66th

cycle (1872). From that time Loochoo continued to pay tribute to China, without interruption, for a period of 237 years. In the 37th year of Woo-lih, 46th year of the 70th cycle (1609) our country was invaded by the troops of the province of Satsuma, and Loochoo, being unable to offer effectual resistance to the invaders, was compelled to submit to them. But this made no change in the payment of tribute to China. The circumstance of the submission of Loochoo to Satsuma was kept from the knowledge of the Chinese Government by the Japanese, and whenever the Loochooans sent a ship to China they were compelled by the Satsuma people to take a solemn oath not to divulge the actual position of matters. Whenever the commissioners from China also arrived in Loochoo the Satsuma people left the Capital and concealed themselves at a place about ten *ri* distant. This is the reason why the fact of Loochoo having subjected herself to Satsuma was unknown to China and to the rest of the world.

"The Japanese Government having been reconstructed in the 11th year of Tung-chi (1872), this Government, in obedience to a command from the Governor of Kagoshima, sent an envoy to Tokio, and the order was then given to him for the investiture (of the King of Loochoo) as the prince of the dependency, and for putting Loochoo under the direct control (of the Japanese Government.) The officer referred to (the Governor of Kagoshima) himself drew up a form of submission to the order entrusted to our envoy. But having received the investiture of King from China, we could not receive another investiture from Japan; and therefore we firmly stated to the Governor that we declined it. The Governor, however, sternly replied that not to obey the order would be to resist the will of the Emperor, and that Loochoo must be governed like the other *ken*. Our envoy being placed in a dilemma could not help promising compliance with the order, upon his own responsibility, and when he returned to Loochoo he memorialised the King upon the subject. This false step (on the part of the envoy) gave great uneasiness to the King and all the officials of Loochoo. They consulted together for the purpose of sending a request to be excused from compliance with the order,

but the fear of bringing upon themselves some great calamity in so doing, induced them for a while to promise compliance with it. But afterwards they determined it was best for them to decline. As regards the letter of the king returning thanks (for his appointment as prince of the dependency), this also was the result of the proceedings of the Governor of Kagoshima, who sent the draft of the letter, which was then written and forwarded (by the King). Afterwards when we wished to decline the investiture, the Daijo-kuan would not permit us to do so. Although we were obliged to receive the investiture, as we have stated, it was with the understanding that Japan would never change the constitution nor form of Government (in Loochoo), and accordingly both in 1872 and 1874 tribute was sent to China as formerly. But in the first year of Kwang-sü (1875) Japan issued a proclamation forbidding our again paying tribute to China. Our whole country regarded this as being an extraordinary breach (of faith on the part of Japan). In the Japanese books it is stated that in the times of JINMU TENNO the people called *Ya kee* (or *Yih ku*) and *Ya ni ka*, came to the Court to offer presents; that these were Loochooans, and that our country has been under the jurisdiction of Japan since that time. An examination of books will show that these statements are incorrect. It will be found that our country previous to the Satsuma invasion was regarded as a neighbouring state with whom the Japanese held friendly intercourse. This is most clearly shown. At that time written official documents were exchanged which are still preserved, and in which it is conclusively proved that we were not then under the jurisdiction of Japan. Moreover the names of *Ya kee* and *Ya ni ka* are not found in the old historical works of our country. The islands now called *Yakushima* and *Yanishima*, on the South of Satsuma, are those to which the Japanese referred, and not Loochoo. In Japanese works published some years ago it is said that 'the time when Loochoo first held intercourse with Japan has never been clearly stated, but from the repeated researches into her history it seems probable that they are the southern island spoken of as *Yakushima*.' But this is a comprehensive name given to all the islands lying south of Satsuma, and it cannot be

concluded that Loochoo was indicated by it; and to assert that *Yanikashima* was the name for Loochoo is too palpable an error to require discussion. Other Japanese books which treat of Loochoo are full of errors and unfounded statements."

I believe that no clearer or more reliable statement than this has been given either by Japan or China. But Japan's strong point appears to be, that, after the outrage, the Liukiunans complained to Japan—not to China—to obtain satisfaction for them; a request which *prima facie* admits the sovereignty, as it claims the protection, of Japan.

That the Japanese Government was doubtful of its position is not likely; for it at once took up the matter warmly; and SOYESHIMA who was the Minister for Foreign affairs set himself to make all the enquiries he could upon the subject of Formosa. General LE GENDRE was passing through, on his way to America from China, when he was appealed to by Mr. DE LONG, on behalf of SOYESHIMA, to postpone his homeward journey, and he was invited to give the Government information on the subject of Formosa, compliance with which led to his being engaged by the Government as an adviser, with high rank among the Japanese officials. From this time, no step was taken with regard to Formosa without consulting him.

It was by his advice that, before sending any armed expedition against the savage islanders, an ambassador was sent to ascertain the views of the Chinese Government as to their responsibilities in connection with them. The occasion was opportune. Under any circumstances a mission would have had to be sent to Peking; for the treaty between Japan and China had to be returned, ratified. This, therefore was committed to his care. He was also the bearer of a letter from the Mikado to the Emperor of China, congratulating him upon his recent marriage.

The ratified treaties were exchanged at Tientsin, be-

tween LI HUNG-CHANG and SOYESHIMA, on the 3rd April, and then the latter went forward to Peking.

It is worth while mentioning, by the way, that SOYESHIMA arrived just at the time the "audience question" was culminating at Peking. The foreign ministers had made a respectful but very firm demand that they should be received by the Emperor. After long discussions the point had been yielded, and the audience was named for a certain day. SOYESHIMA was just in time: and coming with full ambassadorial dignity actually took precedence of all the diplomatists who had laboured so long in China, and who had fought the great battle. It was at least amusing; but what was most so was the manner in which SOYESHIMA—himself naturally a modest retiring man—stood upon his rights. He was not opposed; and the Japanese ambassador, flitting his short hour upon the Peking stage, was the first to be received by His Celestial Majesty. It has been stated that an idea prevailed even among foreigners in Peking, that SOYESHIMA had power to break all relations and to declare war, in case an audience were refused. It is needless to say that he was armed with no such authority.

The business on which he had come was now seriously entered upon, and the Government appeared to be everything that was complaisant and sympathetic. So far as China was concerned, it acknowledged the right of Japan to punish the aborigines of Formosa who had murdered the Liukiu seamen, in terms which satisfied SOYESHIMA that China claimed no jurisdiction in that part of the island.

This of itself appears to allow that the Liukiuans were subjects of Japan, for were it otherwise, what possible right could Japan have to interfere in the matter at all!

The ambassador returned to Japan in August, having made of his mission "a perfect success, and both from

foreigners and his own countrymen received high encomiums. As a result, the Formosan expedition was proceeded with, the story of which I will briefly relate in its proper order.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1878.

EXHIBITION IN THE PALACE, KIOTO.—MIKADO'S PALACE IN TOKIO BURNT.—SHIMADZU SABURO ARRIVES IN TOKIO.—HIS RETAINERS.—SHIMADZU SA-DALJIN.—INOUE BUNDA AND THE FINANCES.—OKUMA OKURA-KIYO.—THE DUKE OF GENOA.—CRIMINAL CODE MODIFIED.—RETURN OF IWAKURA'S EMBASSY. POSTAL CONVENTION BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA.—HON. J. A. BINGHAM U. S. MINISTER.—COREA, FORMOSA.—CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY.—THE PORTUGUESE MINISTER TO JAPAN.—SHEEP-FARMING.—IMPERIAL ENGINEERING COLLEGE.—GERMAN ASIATIC SOCIETY.—LOSS OF THE P.M.S.S. ARIEL.—STATE VISITS OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS.

IN March, another exhibition was held in Kioto, this time in the Gosho, a portion of old Imperial palace. Again foreigners were made welcome.

IN the beginning of May, the palace of the Mikado within the Castle, Tokio, was burnt down, the fire taking its rise in the apartments of the ladies. His Majesty moved to the *yashiki* of the Prince of Kishiu, and has resided there ever since. Consideration for the financial position of the empire induced him to decline to sanction

the building of another edifice until it could be effected without pressure on the national resources.

It was shortly after this that SHIMADZU SABURO was sent for, as described in a previous chapter, and compelled to present himself at Court. His visit was looked forward to by the citizens with apprehension, and the police was strengthened with a view to prevent any turbulence among the samurai who accompanied him, of whom there were about two hundred. It was quite a sight in the capital to see these men in the old dress and wearing their swords as of yore. But the force of strangeness was too strong for them. They were as much stared at as foreigners had formerly been, and the shop-keepers dreaded their approach, remembering their swash-bucklering propensities. They could not stand it; and before many days, they appealed to their master for permission to leave off wearing their swords until they returned to their own country, which they did very shortly afterwards.

SHIMADZU himself was asked by the Mikado to remain and be his adviser, and shortly afterwards was honoured with the post of Naikaku Komon (adviser on Home Affairs), and subsequently Sa-Daijin (Prime Minister of the Left), the second subject in the Empire.

The national revenues and expenditure had become a source of great anxiety to the Government, and just at this time, the Okura-kiyo (Finance Minister) INOUE KAORU (BUNDA) and SHIBUSAWA the Vice Minister, resigned their offices. On leaving office they sent in a memorial to the Daijokuan by which it appeared that the condition of the national finances was alarming; that debts, internal and external, were accumulating; and that there was a yearly deficit of \$2,000,000. The excitement following the publication of this memorial was general; and on the 10th May OKUMA SHIGENOBU was ordered to take

charge of the department, and to make a searching investigation. After a laborious interval, OKUMA published a full Budget, giving a very different account. He showed that the estimated price of rice (of which a large proportion of the revenue consisted) was much too low, and other *items* had been incorrectly put down. In short, instead of a deficit, he showed a surplus; and the result proved correct. OKUMA has ever since remained at the head of the Finance department; and has produced a regular Financial statement each year. At this present writing, from various causes, the finances are not so flourishing as could be desired; but hopes are expressed that under his skilful supervision, they may be replaced on a solid footing.

One of the effects of the derangement of the finances at the close of INOUE's charge, was to lead the Government to permit the export of rice and grain free of duty.

The Duke of Genoa, a son of King VICTOR EMANUEL of Italy, visited Japan in September, as a Lieutenant on board the Italian frigate Garibaldi. He was received with distinguished honour by the Mikado and the officials.

During the same month several alterations in the Criminal code of the country were promulgated. The modifications were principally in the direction of a mitigation of the severity of punishments. Under the Shogunate the penalties had been excessive, but these had had been amended soon after the change of Government, and modified considerably. Now they were again lessened.

On the 13th September, the Embassy of IWAKURA returned to Japan after an absence of nearly a year and nine months. They had been received everywhere in a manner that must have been gratifying to them, and had seen, heard and learnt much that both surprised and instructed them. But the result of the Mission was not what had been anticipated. It had proved costly, and it

had been disappointing. The question of extra-territoriality was no nearer solution than if it had stayed at home.

During October, a Postal Convention was signed between the United States and Japan. Mr. DE LONG, the U.S. Minister, left this country and was succeeded by the Hon. J. A. BINGHAM, who still represents the Great Republic at the Court of the Mikado.

Whilst the Embassy had been abroad there were two questions that occupied the minds of all the samurai throughout the country. They were the Korean and Formosan outrages. A majority of the ministers in Tokio adopted the views of the country—that both should be punished, but especially Korea. IWAKURA was against it; and his voice was so potent that five of the *sangi* (Mikado's ministers) SAIGO KICHINOSUKE, SOYESHIMA (Foreign affairs), GOTO SHOJIRO, ITAGAKI, YETO SHIMPEI resigned; and their places were filled by TERASHIMA MUNENORI (late Japanese minister at the Court of St. James) OKUBO, ITO HIROBUME, and KATSU AWA-NO-KAMI. There was another thing besides the Korean expedition, that the retiring ministers had very much at heart, the establishment of a popular representative assembly. This was also opposed by the IWAKURA party.

The clans were violently agitated, especially those on the island of Kiushiu; things looked threatening; and only two months later an attempt was made on the life of IWAKURA—but as that was at the beginning of the new year, I will wait to take it in its course.

In November, Viscount San Januario, Governor of Macao and Portuguese minister to Japan, visited the capital.

Among the events that ought to be mentioned as belonging to this year, were the resolution of the Government to make the experiment of introducing sheep

into the country: and the establishment of the Imperial Engineering college (Kogaku-rio). The latter has been a decidedly successful institution, under the direction of Mr. H. DYER as principal, and a strong staff of able foreign professors. The former was given in charge of Mr. AP JONES, an American, who has imported, on behalf of the Government, some fine stock from various countries. As yet, however, no decided opinion can be formed as to the probability of sheep-farming flourishing generally in Japan. The rank indigenous grass is against them.

The German community formed a society in Tokio, this year, under the presidency of HERR VON BRANDT, their Minister Resident. It started under the best auspices, for German scientific men were numerous.

On the 29th October the P.M. S.S. Ariel was lost on her voyage to Hakodate by striking on a rock, unmarked in the charts.

In July the Empress visited the Silk reeling factory at Tomioka; the Emperor and Empress also visited the model farms and nurseries of the Kaitakushi; and the last event of the year that I will notice was a state visit of the Mikado and Empress to the Docks at Yokosuka at the close of December.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1874.

DESTRUCTION OF ZOJOJI.—ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF IWAKURA.—THE CULPRITS DECAPITATED.—FIRST SCHEME FOR CAPITALIZATION OF THE INCOMES OF SAMURAI.—CENSUS.—MEMORIAL TO SA-IN AS TO A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.—YEZO.—THE SAGA REBELLION.—ITS ORIGIN, SUPPRESSION, AND RESULTS.—YETO SHIMPEI BEHEADED.—THE FORMOSAN CAMPAIGN.—THE TRANSIT OF VENUS.

THE new year had hardly been ushered in, when in Tokio the fierce alarum bells rung out their startling peals, not the less appalling because they are so frequently heard. The great temple of Zōjōji, Shiba, had been set on fire by incendiaries, and in the space of about an hour it was totally consumed. To foreigners it was the best known temple in the city, being the great central temple, about which the beautiful shrines of the Tokugawa Shoguns were built. The wooden frame companion in which the great bell was hung, was destroyed, and the fine toned bell fell, and has never been re-hung to this day. It was one of the four celebrated bells of Japan, only one of which remains suspended—each of the other three having been damaged by fire.

This was a deplorable commencement of the year, but it was to be followed by an occurrence still more lamentable—though both arose from opposition to the Government.

IWAKURA, the late chief ambassador, was returning from the Imperial palace on the 15th January at about 8 P.M., in a small open carriage with the hood up. Crossing the causeway at Kuichigai he was attacked by a number of men with swords and spears. The driver, who was sitting on his right hand, was severely wounded, and the betto behind slightly. IWAKURA received three wounds, but jumping out of the carriage, was trying to escape along the high grassy bank of the moat when his foot slipped, and he rolled down into the water far below. Fortunately it was not deep. The assassins, not being able to see him in the dark, dispersed, and the guards at the palace being alarmed by the wounded coachman, made their way to the spot, to institute a search. Seeing lights IWAKURA shouted, when they descended and rescued him from his perilous position. His wounds and the consequences of his cold bath on that winter night kept him a prisoner for some time; but he recovered, and the plans of the assassins were frustrated. The men, who proved to be Tosa samurai, were captured and decapitated.

About this time, a proclamation appeared, providing for the capitalization of the incomes of certain classes of the samurai who received regular stipends from the Government, at the rate of six years purchase to those whose claims were hereditary, and four years to those who held incomes during life—to serve as capital for trade. Half was to be paid in cash, and half in Government bonds, bearing 8 per cent interest. The bonds might be sold or mortgaged to any native, but not to foreigners. At the same time waste lands and forests

belonging to Government were to be sold, in order to facilitate the settlement of the class above alluded to.

A large number availed themselves of the Government offer, much to their ultimate regret, as another and more beneficial scheme in the same direction was afterwards adopted.

A census of the population of Japan was taken in 1872, which was published this month. It showed a total population of 33,110,825—of whom 634,701 were males and 647,466 females of the shizoku or samurai class, and 16,619,048 were males and 15,218,223 females of the common people; the rest were made up of nobles, priests and others.

A memorial signed by all the Sangi who had recently retired from office, and a few other men of influence, was presented to Sa In, this month, demanding the establishment of a popular representative assembly, in terms of the Mikado's oath on ascending the throne. A favourable answer was returned; but nothing further has been done towards it; and the subject is now agitating the country throughout its length and breadth.

At a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan, on the 14th January, a paper was read by Captain BRIDGFORD, on the subject of Yezo, which he had recently visited. It led to a short discussion in the course of which, one of the speakers gave the following succinct account, which presents much information in few words:—

“It was reserved for Captain BRIDGFORD to introduce us to the centre of the island, and to describe its principal river. The accounts he gave of the absence of population—246 Ainos being the sole occupants of the extensive plains which he describes—show how little has yet been made of Yezo by the Japanese. Its area, estimated since H.M.S. *Sylvia* made a running survey of the coast at 34,605 miles, is nearly three thousand miles larger than Ireland. The latter has, however, a population of 5,500,000, while Yezo, according to the census,

contains only 124,668. It seems doubtful whether it has advanced at all since the twelfth century. The climate is not severe. Eight years observation at Hakodaté gave the minimum at 2 degrees above zero, Fahrenheit, and the maximum as 84 degrees. The vast plains were capable of producing hemp, wheat, and every kind of grain, rice excepted. Yet they remain untilled. The foreign commerce, too, of Hakodaté has been quite stationary. The place makes no advance, and depends solely upon the fisheries around the island, as there is no population to require imports. The fisheries are not so flourishing as they should be by reason of the heavy taxation. The Kaitakushi department has recently taken the island in hand, and spent large sums of money without apparently increasing production. A large road varying from 30 to 45 feet wide has been constructed from Hakodaté to Sapporo (Satsuporo), and a town called a capital, and containing a capitol borrowed from foreign models, has been constructed there. What they were going to do with a town in such a place, did not clearly appear. It has no trade, and consists solely of the officials assembled there. Roads of the dimensions named seemed superfluous in a country which did not possess a vehicle, and one could not help thinking of the much greater length of smaller roads, of which the island is deplorably in want, which might have been made for the same outlay. It is a pity that Yezo, of which so much might be made, should be suffered to remain such an unproductive wilderness. Hemp might furnish a most productive crop; and of wheat, on the virgin soil of Yezo, and with so suitable a climate, heavy crops might be looked for."

It was also stated that Yezo hemp, which was grown with great facility, and in any quantity, was the finest in the world; and was worth just three times as much as Manila hemp; a fact that was corroborated by a gentleman who had sent samples to London eight years before, where it was valued at £90 per ton when Manila was quoted at £30.

General CAPRON, the foreign chief of the Kaitakushi department, stated that there were very extensive coal

fields in Yezo, but that to bring the coal to the sea-coast could only be done remuneratively by the expenditure of large capital in railways.

This was in 1874. The Government has supported the colonization department with no sparing hand. The taxes on the fisheries which were so heavily complained of in 1873 were much reduced, being now only 10 per cent., instead of 26 to 30 as formerly. The great want would appear to be capital; and as foreigners are not allowed to hold the only securities that can be offered, and Japanese are unwilling or unable to lend sufficiently large sums, little progress is made. Yet in quantity the fisheries have increased, and now fresh salmon can be procured in Tokio, brought down in the steamers, with almost as much regularity as it can be delivered in London from Scotland. The consumers get the advantage of the increased supply in the reduction of price. Formerly there were only a few junks load every season; and it was estimated that one out of three would arrive, the profit on which would pay for the loss of the other two cargoes, and leave a better result than the regular shipments by steamers do now.

Passing now from north to south, we find the samurai of Saga Ken, in Hizen, in open revolt. This was the first important rising since the civil war of 1868. A native writer says that the cause of it was that the old swordsmen were tired of doing nothing but sleeping and eating plentifully. There might be a good deal of truth in the statement. Idleness always was and ever will be the parent of discontent, and it afforded the samurai, everywhere, with the leisure for discussing the political questions that most interested them, namely, the proposed Corean war: the expulsion of foreigners: and the return to the feudal system. All these agitated their

minds increasingly, until they determined to hold a public meeting for their discussion, and asked the vice Governor to allow them to use the public hall of the Kencho for their purpose. It was refused. The vice-Governor explained to them the evil of the course they were pursuing; and received nothing but abuse in return. Information of their threats was telegraphed to Tokio.

The samurai were divided into two parties—one for, the other against, the Government—the numbers of each being nearly equal. When the messengers who had been sent to the Kencho returned to their party and reported the unfavourable answer they had received, and what they had said in reply, there was a general expression of regret. A letter was addressed to the officials apologising for the rudeness that had been displayed by the deputation; the members of which also expressed their sorrow. Those who signed the letter as well as the messengers who had given offence were all summoned to the Kencho and fined. This roused the fiery spirit of the discontented to boiling point. It appears that in the sentences a crime was made of their agitating the Corean affair; indeed it was mentioned as the principal ground of offence. They said, therefore, “the justice of our punishment for abusing the officials we admit; but to punish us for discussing the propriety of a Corean expedition is an interference with our rights, and is sheer oppression.” They determined, therefore, at all hazards, to commence raising funds for the purchase of arms and munitions of war for the expedition.

This was one of the fantasies indulged in by more than these. They imagined that they could either act independently of the Government; or, in such a way as to force the Government to declare war, irrespective of the resources at its disposal.

On the 2nd February the rioters, armed with swords and rifles, made an assault on the branch office of the Ono bank at Saga. The clerks fled; and the rioters took from the safe two hundred thousand yen. They then went to rich merchants and farmers, and by similar means obtained a heavy amount of money, rice, arms, &c., from them. This was not looked upon in Japan as criminal, so long as it was not wasted on themselves, but *honestly* and *patriotically* used for the good of the country.

The rioters now began to feel their strength, and the Government to show alarm.

YETO SHIMPEI, one of the ministers who had retired from office in October, had been a strong advocate for an expedition to punish the insolence of the Coreans, as well as a warm supporter of the project for an elective assembly—both of which had been opposed by IWAKURA. He had remained in Tokio in constant communication with his fellow clansmen in Saga Ken. He now went down to Saga, ostensibly with the purpose of tranquillising them; and with him went SHIMA GIU, and other influential man of the clan. They became the ringleaders of the rebellion, and preparations were made to use the arms that had been accumulated.

The Emperor felt uneasy at the stormy attitude assumed by these men, and ordered OKUBO TOSHIMICHI, the Home Minister, to go down with soldiers and a number of officials, to endeavour to crush the insurrection. They were followed by Admiral Ito and General Nodzu, with men of war, imperial marines, and several regiments of native troops. It was said that many of the soldiers refused to go.

In the first encounter between the soldiers and rebels, the latter had the advantage. They stormed and took the castle of Saga, and fears were entertained of their advancing upon Nagasaki the native inhabitants of

which made preparations for flight. In all parts of Kiushiu it was thought the rising would become general. But the Government now found the advantage of the telegraph and steamers. Troops were brought up quickly; and though they had some heavy fighting, they were in the end successful, and the rebellion was quelled. YETO SHIMPEI and SHIMA GIU were beheaded and their heads exposed; several were simply decapitated, and others subjected to different degrees of punishment. It was a great relief to the minds both of the Mikado and his ministers, when they received the telegram from OKUBO announcing the surrender of the rebels. There were apprehensions that the rising would extend to many other clans, and the Government had but few more troops who could be depended upon. HIGASHI FUSHIMI-NO-MIYA had gone down as Commander-in-Chief; and the personal guards of His Majesty were on the point of departure when the joyful news arrived.

In all native accounts of this rebellion, it is recorded that YETO SHIMPEI, (who, when in office had been Shiho-kiyo—Minister of the Law Department), had introduced the plan of having the portraits of criminals taken, by photography. After the submission of the rebels, Yeto fled, and was for a long time a fugitive, until at length he was discovered by his portrait, which had been widely distributed.

I have said that the loyalty of some of the soldiers was not to be very much relied on. They were anxious to be led against Corea, in this sharing the sentiments of the risen clans; and they did not at all like opposing those whose first object was to forward such an expedition. They also believed that the Satsuma clan, with SAIGO, the idol of the samurai, at its head, would join the rebellion; in which case they would be found fighting against one for whom any soldier in Japan would, at that time, willingly have

laid down his life. Indeed had SAIGO and Satsuma joined at that particular period, there is no saying what might have been the consequences. As it was the Government had all it could do to put down the insurrection; and later on, in 1877, when Satsuma rose by itself and when the Imperial army was better organised and more reliable, it took all the forces that could be sent forward, a long time, and an embarrassing amount of money, before the Government could announce that its work was accomplished. If then the strength of the rebels in Saga and those in Satsuma territory had been united when the army was weak, the fidelity of the soldiers inclined to waver, and their discipline and organization less complete, it is hardly to be doubted that the Government would have suffered a severe defeat.

To secure the quiescence of Satsuma primarily, and then the loyalty of the soldiers, the Government promised—it was confidently asserted—that, though the Korean proposal could not yet be adopted, an expedition against Formosa should immediately follow the successful termination of the insurrection.

The Formosan campaign, therefore, was taken vigorously in hand directly the Government found itself free of the civil strife. Preparations had been set on foot from the very time of SOYESHIMA's return from Peking. Mr. HOUSE, the best authority on the subject, relates in his pamphlet "The Japanese expedition to Formosa," that "everything would have been prepared in the course of a few months, for a combination of enterprises, which, whatever their consequences, would have attracted a far greater attention and a more vivid interest than any previous Eastern events of modern times. But the return of the Embassy, under IWAKURA, which had been travelling for upwards of a year in America and Europe, changed in a few weeks, the entire aspect of affairs."

This statement is literally correct. The views of the Japanese expanded from indulgence, and the excited samurai talked of conquests not only embracing Formosa and Corea, but even China itself. It was a curious feature also, that they spoke confidently—as if there could be no doubt whatever as to their success; and certainly, if the first element towards it, was absolute faith in themselves, they possessed it without stint.

It can never be forgotten that one of the most remarkable events of the year 1874, was the transit of Venus, which took place on the 9th December. Japan was one of the stations selected for its observation by the scientists appointed for the purpose, by France, America and Mexico. The Government of this country also determined to do its part, and having obtained suitable instruments, the arrangements were undertaken by Mr. COLIN A. McVEAN, the Foreign Chief of the Survey Department, and Messrs. SCHARBAU, KLASSEN, and CHEESEMAN, of the same office.

A shed was erected, and the instruments fixed on a portion of the site of Go Ten Yama, of which my readers have heard; and during the day, the spot was visited by the Prime minister and several of the eminent men in the Government.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1874.

FORMOSA.—JULOONG THE FREEBOOTER.—CHINA OBTAINS POSSESSION AND IT IS PLACED UNDER THE CHARGE OF THE VICEROY OF FUKIEN.—NORTHERN FORMOSA CHINESE TERRITORY.—SOUTHERN FORMOSA STILL UNSUBDUED.—OPPOSITION TO THE EXPEDITION.—APPOINTMENTS CONNECTED WITH IT.—CHARTERS EFFECTED AND PREPARATIONS MADE.—THE GOVERNMENT DESIGNS.—THE SAVAGE TRIBES.—THE ENGLISH MINISTER'S INFLUENCE IN JAPAN.—JAPANESE HABIT OF MAKING INDISCRIMINATE ENQUIRIES OF INEXPERIENCED PERSONS, IRRITATING TO FOREIGN MINISTERS.—QUOTATION FROM A CHINESE DOCUMENT, SHOWING THAT IN 1867, CHINESE DISAVOWED THE SAVAGE TERRITORY.—EMBARRASSING OBSTRUCTIONS.—CHARTER OF THE P.M.S.S. NEW YORK BROKEN.—DEPARTURE OF THE FIRST JAPANESE TROOPS.—PURCHASE OF P. AND O. S. DELTA.—MR. HOUSE ON THE QUALITIES OF THE JAPANESE SOLDIER.

THE island of Formosa has some historical features which, were they accurately written, few of the localities in the Far East could surpass in interest.

Though within a day's sail of the coast of China it was an unknown land to its contented easy-going neighbour

until a comparatively recent period. Possessed of an extensive sea-board, the Chinese have never been a navigating people; their maritime ambition being satisfied by voyages confined to their own coasts. The Japanese were the rovers of the sea in olden times, and the Empire of the Rising Sun was better known to the Celestial Empire as a pirate-producing land, than as a country as far advanced in civilization as herself. It was the visit of Japanese ships to her shores—the blazing of her villages, the sacking of her cities from Kwantung to Shantung by Japanese hands—which made Japan's existence so patent and real a fact.

Formosa was formerly but thinly inhabited by scattered tribes, well deserving the name of savages. Its natives never sought to leave their own shores; and the phlegmatic Chinese had no curiosity to seek in distant islands 'green fields and pastures new.'

It was at the beginning of the seventeenth century, that a wonderful man arose, with whose career is identified the discovery of Formosa by the Chinese, and its subsequent appropriation as a portion of Chinese territory. JULOOG was the famous founder of a famous family of pirates; and the original occupation and final conquest are identified with his history. JULOONG associated himself with a number of Japanese pirates, who then made Taiwan their head-quarters, and ultimately became the chief of the entire band. He sometimes resided in Japan, and there married a wife, in spite of the law then existing that no one marrying a Japanese wife should afterwards leave the country. It is true he had already a Chinese wife; but that did not matter; for then, as now, Chinese custom permitted a man to have a wife in every port he visited, and as many as he chose.

JULOONG, the freebooter, was not to be bound by any laws; so stealing away with his wife, he returned to his

native place in Fukien. His power daily increased under the weak rule of the Ming TIENCHI, as Chinese administration daily became more rotten, and subordination, robbery and rebellion more rampant throughout the Empire. So great was his power that no merchant vessel dared sail the seas without Juloong's flag flying at her stern; and for that flag each large vessel had to pay an annual black-mail of Taels 8,000. No wonder that his treasury yearly received a yearly revenue of Taels 10,000,000—in those days equal to £3,000,000 sterling. At that time the income of England was little, if any, more.

I have not space to give any lengthened historical sketch of the history of Formosa. How at a subsequent period the Dutch established a fort upon the island, and were themselves obliged to evacuate it, and how China ultimately claimed possession of the island, is all a matter of history.

The Chinese Viceroy of Fukien is the lord over the island, which he considers as a *foo* or district of the province he governs; and he is by law obliged to visit it once in every three years. It is one of the most lucrative portions of his charge; but to meet the heavy requirements of all the mandarins, civil and military, the poor Chinese who are located on the island, are taxed and squeezed to an extent almost beyond endurance. Fortunately the island is as productive as it is beautiful.

The northern portions are in the hands of the Chinese; the extreme south, which is very mountainous, has always been held by a number of savage tribes who have successfully resisted every attempt of the Chinese to bring them into subjection. These tribes detest the Chinese, and steadily refuse to enter into any kind of treaty with them, even though they have lately accepted such relations with others.

On the return of SOYESHIMA from Peking, he brought with him the record of the understanding he had with the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign office) officials. They had stated explicitly that China acknowledged no responsibility in respect of the savages, and that Japan was at perfect liberty to punish them for the outrages they had committed on Japanese subjects.

The expedition met with strong opposition in some quarters. A majority of the Foreign ministers considered that Japan was about to run into a danger, from which it would not be easy to extricate herself. To this day the whole matter is so involved that opinions differ widely. The Chinese, it was afterwards said, were glad to answer the enquiries of SOYESHIMA with that complacency that ever distinguishes them, not deeming it likely that anything more would be heard about it. But when it was seen how very much in earnest Japan was, it became necessary to assert her own rights, and put a *reto* on any portion of Formosa being occupied by Japanese soldiers.

But it was too late to stop the proceedings that had been determined upon. An office called the *Banchi Jimu Kioku* (Barbarous land Affairs office), was established, at the head of which was Mr. OKUMA. It was considered desirable to obtain foreign help both to advise the diplomatists, and to strengthen the Japanese Commander of the expedition. General SAIGO, brother of SAIGO KITCHINOSUKE, was appointed to this important office. Lieut.-Commander CASSILL U.S.N., was offered the rank of Commodore in the Japanese Navy, and Lieut. WASSON, formerly of the United States Engineers, was engaged, in case of field works being called for. General LE GENDRE was attached to the staff of OKUMA, who now went to Nagasaki to expedite the arrangements for departure.

An English steamer, the *Yorkshire*, and the P.M.S. *New York*, were chartered for the conveyance of troops and appliances by which they were to be accompanied. The equipment included everything that the most experienced nation could consider requisite for such an expedition. Means for road-making, hut-building, hospital ambulances on wheels, jinrikishas and coolies to draw them, were sent. All had been prepared that could be thought of, and a start was about to be made.

Whatever may have been the wishes of the people—i.e., of the samurai,—for it must always be remembered, that up to a later period than this, the common people cared for none of these things; it was the samurai, or, as they were now called, the shizoku, alone who interested themselves in political matters—whatever, then, may have been their wishes the Government had no mere absurd and inflated views. Their design was to punish the perpetrators of a cold-blooded massacre of Japanese subjects, and to secure immunity from such danger, not only for Japanese but for all who navigated the neighbouring seas, for the future. They knew well that over the greater portion of Formosa, the Chinese claimed sovereignty; but the latter had themselves marked out on a map the limit to which this extended. The southern end they had found it impracticable to subdue. The aborigines, though by no means numerous, had managed to retain, amid their mountain fastnesses, an independence which no effort of the Chinese had been able to quench. They had retained, also, much of their ancient barbarism, one evidence of which was the very crime Japan sought to avenge. Divided into eighteen tribes,—or villages containing from 50 to 250 fighting men each, they did not altogether amount to 2,500. But it was not so much in themselves that they placed confidence, as in their fastnesses; and these have been

described by Mr. HOUSE, who accompanied the expedition, in a manner that brings them before the mind in all their native impenetrability, and leaves no doubt of the all but insuperable difficulties they presented to an attacking force.

After the Saga rebellion, the expedition, which had remained in abeyance since IWAKURA'S return, was again taken in hand. It was really as a safety valve, and a very effectual one it proved; but I have always thought that from it arose a more dogged determination on the part of Japan, than she had ever previously exhibited, to resist any kind of foreign advice, or as her people are pleased to call it, of interference in her affairs.

Any one who has read the preceding pages with some degree of attention must have perceived how different was the spirit actuating those to whom it fell to give their advice. Circumstances worked together to place the English Minister in the foremost position among them; and, whilst admitting the great ability of some of the men who have formed the Government, it is impossible to forget the numerous occasions when he has been of service to them. During the revolution in 1868, at any moment one word from him might have checkmated the designs of those who were bent on the overthrow of the Tycoon, as it did the hopes of those who looked for the ousting of foreigners. All his colleagues, and most of his countrymen would have been pleased to see him take a course in favour of the Tycoon—but he, and they by his influence, observed the strictest neutrality; leaving the two parties to decide for themselves in their own way who was to carry out the new *régime* which, under the Mikado, would have been permanent, whichever party succeeded.

It may be mentioned that the Japanese had, and have still to a lesser extent, the peculiarity of seeking advice

from many, irrespective often of the capability of those of whom they enquired. This frequently led to their obtaining erroneous information, or opinions, valueless from the fact that they were given on the spur of the moment by persons who had never thought upon the subject they were consulted upon; but who did not like to appear ignorant when appealed to.

It is not improbable that foreign ministers were often annoyed by finding solid information that they had given quietly ignored; and action taken upon what had been erroneously picked up elsewhere. The Japanese officials who were brought into communication with them, complained sadly of the brusque manner in which they were frequently treated by the plain-speaking strangers. Especially was this the case with regard to Sir HARRY PARKES, on whose absolute outbursts of wrath and excited action, they are never tired of dilating. Whatever truth there may be in their tales, those who know the idiosyncracies of the Japanese will not feel any kind of surprise; but, on the contrary, would be astonished if any man—more particularly so quick, direct, clever and honest, a man as Sir HARRY,—could avoid occasional ebullitions of temper. The very calmness and imperturbable politeness of the Japanese themselves serve as a provocative; and one often wishes, in arguing with them, that they would throw themselves into a passion. The resolution to send a military force to Formosa was no sooner known, than they were warned (as I have before stated) as to the possible consequences. As in the case of the *Maria Luz*, so here, they had the sympathy of all foreigners; but it was believed, now as then, that they were taking upon themselves a heavy risk. They had, however, examined the subject for themselves long before; and had come to the conclusion that they were in the right. Circumstances had since enabled

them to consult with General LE GENDRE, who had in his former official capacity in the service of the United States, enquired more minutely into the exact relations existing between China and Formosa, than any European had hitherto done. It must be distinctly understood, that it was not at his instance that the proceedings against the savages were undertaken. The resolution concerning them was come to before ever they saw him. But he was consulted, and retained as their permanent adviser, as to the best and most effective means of attaining their ends. We have seen him advise caution at the outset. In the "Diplomatic correspondence of the United States for 1868" is much, and in the Commercial Relations of the U.S. for 1869" is more, that proves conclusively, that China had hitherto steadily refused to acknowledge their suzerainty over the savage region of the island; and Mr. House quotes from the records of the United States Consulate at Amoy, the following extract of a dispatch from the Foochow Board of Trade in 1867, when an appeal had been made to them in the matter of the American ship Rover.

Mr. House says :—"The officers of the Board of Trade wrote (June 1867), first to say that the Chinese would undoubtedly be obliged to make reparation in all cases where outrages were committed in Chinese territory or Chinese waters; and continued as follows—'But as in the Rover case, the Americans were not murdered in Chinese territory or in Chinese seas, but in a region occupied by the savages, relief cannot be asked for them under the Treaty. The savage territory does not come within the limits of our jurisdiction. * * * We believe those savages to be wild animals with whom any-one would disdain to contend.'"

When the expedition was on the point of starting, an obstacle was thrown in the way from an unexpected

quarter. I have already stated that an English steamer, the *Yorkshire*, and an American; the *New York*, had been chartered by the Government. It had all along been feared that the British minister might place an interdiction on the *Yorkshire*, but he did not. All that was done with regard to her, was, to forbid her touching at any of the open ports of China with any portion of the Japanese force on board. No kind of interference was anticipated on the part of the U. S. minister. He had, ever since his arrival so strenuously objected to the Japanese Government being subjected to any kind of control by foreigners, that it could never be suspected that he would be the first to throw a difficulty in their way. Before Lieut. Com. CASSELL and Lieut. WASSON were engaged by the Japanese, he himself signed a telegram recommending their receiving permission from the State Department at Washington to join the expedition. Yet now, at the eleventh hour, after the *New York* had arrived at Nagasaki with troops and stores, *en route* for the island, a telegram was received from him, strongly warning those gentlemen against taking the part for which, with his sanction, they had been engaged, and forbidding the *New York* to fulfil its charter, on the ground that the expedition was an infringement of the rights of China, with whom the United States were at peace.

In this dilemma, the first batch of troops went forward in a Japanese steamer. Lieut. Com. CASSELL and Lieut. WASSON accompanied them; and Mr. HOUSE was a passenger, as correspondent of the *New York Herald*. The expedition was arranged in such a manner that negotiations should be first brought to bear. The American officers who went with the first detachment had the duty of selecting the place of landing according to general instructions handed to them by OKUMA. They

were to be conciliatory, but to raise field-works and prepare a camp for those who were to follow; the belief being that this was necessary in case of any hostile demonstration on the part of the natives. General LE GENDRE was to have accompanied the Japanese Commander-in-chief, SAIGO YORIMICHI, and it was hoped that his influence with the tribes would enable arrangements of a friendly character, to be made securing that which was most desired, an acknowledgment of the crime that had been committed, and a promise to avoid a repetition of it.

As it was, the plans at first laid down were upset. General LE GENDRE returned to Tokio, and the expedition went forward without him. The charter of the New York was cancelled—to the mutual regret of the owners and the Japanese Government, who, however, prevented any repetition of the annoyance, by purchasing the P. & O. steamer Delta, out and out.

For the details of the military proceedings on the island I have not space; but they have been told so agreeably by Mr. HOUSE, in his pamphlet that its perusal is heartily recommended. He was with the first division who left Japan, and remained until all had been effected that the soldiers could do. His short narrative tells what the young Japanese soldiers were. One or two of these sketches I will adopt, and then pass on.

“The landing of the small body of marines and a portion of the stores brought by the “Yuko Maru” commenced at a tolerably early hour on the morning of the 8th. This work was not accomplished with anything approaching to order or regularity, for these qualities, although strikingly manifest among the Japanese in all that relates to the management of affairs according to their own traditional usages, are often lost sight of when they undertake the employment of foreign methods. I

can imagine a Japanese army of the old school, before Western military science was introduced, to have been a model of promptness and cleanliness. At present, however, the troops are deficient in many conditions which we consider essential to success and distinction in arms. The events of the civil war of 1868 certainly proved that they possess almost an excess of the most important of soldierly attributes—namely, personal courage; but the manner in which even this was displayed was frequently more dashing and desperate than positively effective. Of late years they have shown an excellent willingness to submit to the requirements of regular discipline, but they have never been able to accustom themselves to the lower details of military routine. I suppose that the old idea still prevails to a considerable extent—that the soldier belongs to a superior class, and is not properly liable to menial offices or the particularly fatiguing labours of the field. It is almost humorously at variance with our notions of the economies of war to see a body of a hundred soldiers accompanied by nearly an equal number of “coolies” to do the work of building shelter, cooking, and a good part of the digging of trenches. But so it was here. The adoption of foreign military systems does not appear to have gone much beyond the actual use of weapon and the manœuvring of the various branches of the service. The management of the commissariat is still in the native style, and transportation is conducted upon what I take to have been the principles of the time of TAIKO SAMA, who undertook the invasion of Corea in the sixteenth century. In their way they are not ineffective, and in the matter of supplies, at least, there was always an abundance in Formosa, and at some times an almost wasteful profusion. The methods of conveyance were generally prompt, though somewhat rude and needlessly expensive in their execution. There can be no doubt that the quarter-master’s department was distinguished by a great deal of vigour and by excellent good sense; but its administration was not exactly in harmony with the new ideas which have been to a great extent adopted in the management of the troops themselves. What the Japanese might or might not do if they attempted to carry through their operations entirely upon the ancient

basis, it is impossible to say : but the partial infusion of the new customs, while it undoubtedly adds to their destructive capacities, contributes, thus far, very little to the convenience or healthfulness of their armies. These results still rest in the future."

Their impatience of control was their distinguishing characteristic. Thus the first blood was drawn under the following circumstances :—

"It was not long before the Japanese soldiers received a shock to their sense of fancied security. In spite of repeated admonitions, numbers of them persisted in wandering about through regions too remote from the camp to allow them to reach it, or enable them to receive assistance, in case of danger. On the afternoon of the 17th, a body of one hundred men was sent out to a distance of two miles eastward, for some reconnoitring purpose not clearly defined. They ran no particular risk, so long as they remained together and kept clear of the jungle; but half a dozen of them were seized with the desire to visit a little village, the roofs of which were seen over the shrubbery, less than a quarter of a mile further on. They went there unmolested, and remained awhile. On their way back, they were fired upon, from a thicket, by invisible assailants. One man was wounded in the neck, and another, a sergeant of a Satsuma regiment, was shot dead. Having no means of knowing the number or the exact situation of the attacking force, they ran back to the reconnoitring party, all of whom advanced without delay to the spot. They found that the head of the murdered man had been cut off, his body stripped, and his weapons taken away. Of course no trace of the enemy could be discovered. The result of all inquiries upon the subject showed to a certainty that the work was done by members of the very Botan tribe which slaughtered the Miyako Shima fishermen in 1871, and which the Japanese were now in Formosa for the sole purpose of calling to account. The Botans were known to have posts of observation on the hill-tops, and it was a simple matter for them to watch the movements of stragglers, and intercept them by side paths with which all the aborigines were of course perfectly familiar. It was hoped that this first mishap would at least be an

effective warning to the reckless excursionists connected, more or less officially, with the expedition; but it did not prove so. Some of them were insensible to restraint, and showed themselves incapable of profiting by any lessons, however severe.

"On the 21st of May, a detachment of twelve men was sent out to examine the locality where the Satsuma soldier had been killed four days before. Their instructions were to visit the village at which they had previously halted, to inquire into the circumstances, and to ascertain beyond a doubt to which tribe the unknown enemies belonged. It was recognized that the murdered man had been roaming in places where he should not have been, and that the assailants were perhaps not bound to know that his errand was innocent; but, on the other hand, apart from the fact that the Japanese were in no case disposed to look upon his death with indifference, he had gone nowhere near the established limits of the Liangkiao district, and the actual intrusion, as well as aggression, had been on the side of the savages.

"It was understood that this scouting party was not to expose itself to danger, and was to confine itself to gathering such information as could be obtained without serious risk; but the restless spirit of the men was, as usual, entirely beyond reasonable control. They found the place, to which they had been sent, entirely deserted, and thought proper to push forward to the next settlement, a couple of miles beyond. When they were about four miles from the camp they were suddenly confronted by a body of not less than fifty natives, who fired upon them, severely wounding two of their number. They returned the fire, and killed one of the enemy, whose corpse was afterward found by the coast villagers, half concealed in the jungle, after which they retreated hastily to the shore. The alarm being given, the entire Japanese force not on guard duty, about two hundred and fifty altogether, turned out and marched rapidly to the scene of the encounter. They reached it about half-past five o'clock in the afternoon and were greeted by an irregular volley from the bushes, which they could only return at random. They advanced, however, at a double-quick, the troops in the rear showing the greatest impatience, and making every endeavour, even at the expense

of order, to press forward to the front. But their alacrity was not equal to the speed of the natives, who, from their familiarity with the country, were enabled to retreat without injury, sending a few scattered and ineffectual discharges behind them.

“On the morning of the 22nd, two companies, led by Colonel SAKUMA, who had already won distinction in the recent Saga contests, went out to the support of those who had been left behind the night before, and to perform those duties, mentioned above, which concerned the suspected villagers and which did not necessarily involve a conflict on this occasion. But curiosity, or some stronger motive, induced them to push forward to the mountain path near which the savages had been lost sight of. Here, half way through a narrow and precipitous pass, the enemy again rose upon them, and the first genuine engagement ensued. The mountaineers were at first estimated to have been two hundred and fifty in number, but this was subsequently found to be a great exaggeration. They were about seventy. But they had enormous advantages of position, which I had afterward the opportunity of examining on all sides, and which I shall endeavor to describe more particularly in another chapter. Although one hundred and fifty Japanese had marched to the spot, the difficulties of the situation were such that not more than thirty could be actively employed. There was no road, and the fighting was actually done in the middle of a river which runs through the rocky gateway by which alone the Botan country could be approached from this direction. The savages were posted behind masses of stone which they had selected beforehand, and the Japanese assumed such stations as they could best find at the moment. The exchange of shots lasted over an hour, at the end of which time the natives all ran away—at least such as were able—leaving not one to be seen in any direction. They took their wounded with them, but sixteen dead bodies were left behind, the heads of most of which were cut off and brought back into camp. Six Japanese were killed, one of whom was an officer; and nearly a score were wounded, most of them very slightly.

"General SAIGO took an early opportunity of giving new assurances that it had not been his desire that conflicts should take place with the savages, and that all reasonable means should have been taken to avert them; but the events just preceding his arrival seemed to leave him no choice. He approved the decision that had been agreed upon, several days before, that the first two attacks, when one soldier was killed and three others wounded, should be passed over for the present; but felt that the third had been on rather too extensive a scale. If the Japanese should now pause, he conceived, their immobility might be taken as a sign of weakness, and the consequence might be an aggressive combination of many of the tribes. At this moment, only the Botans and their closest neighbours were known to be in antagonistic alliance. The assault upon the boat's crew of the "Nisshin" appeared to be a minor and independent affair. It was repeatedly recognized that the rashness of unauthorized individuals had brought about at least two of the serious encounters, but that was a fact which could not now be allowed to affect the position. Although no armed demonstration would have been sanctioned on the Japanese side, at this stage, if the aborigines had not led off in their own way, there would now be considerable difficulty in keeping the soldiers quiet for any length of time. It had become a question between a regular and organized campaign, which might go far toward finishing the business with a few decisive blows, and a series of desultory excursions by small parties which would be just as likely to produce bad results, as good. The discipline of some followers of the force was rather doubtful, and the control over them was exercised rather by the personal influence of the General than by the application of any strict rule. These were a body of semi-independent volunteers, mostly from Satsuma, and of somewhat superior rank to the members of the regularly enlisted body—ardent seekers after martial fame, who seemed determined to be in the front whenever opportunity offered, and to make opportunities, if such did not arise of themselves in the natural order of events. It did not appear practicable to restrain them within any prescribed lines of action. There had been no orders, for example, on the 22nd, when they made them-

selves prominent, to advance beyond the village that was to be disarmed, but it never entered their heads to stop until they had had a sight of the enemy, and so they pushed forward, with or without leaders, as it might be. Then, of course, it was impossible to keep the others back. Many of the volunteers had won the red cap years before—a mark of honorable service in the battle,—and the regulars were in quest of theirs. Under the circumstances, and especially in the difficult and irregular country through which they moved, officers and privates, were, for the time, very nearly upon an equality. Probably it was not in situations like these that the value of the new military training of the Japanese soldiers could be tested. The simplest and oldest-fashioned principles of warfare were the best for this region. For the work which was particularly needed, they had abundance of valour, but they were not too highly gifted with the better part of that quality—discretion. When the Botans rose upon them, on the morning of the 22nd, they had advanced to within thirty feet of the natural barricade that stretched across the river through which they were wading. The first discharge of the enemy was received without the slightest preparation, and then their natural instinct, rather than the recollection of military precepts, led them to the best way out of their difficulty.

“At three o'clock in the afternoon the laborious mountain climbing began. We had forded a dozen or more streams before we came to a ledge of rock which had to be scaled in genuine Alpine fashion—to walk up it would have been as impossible as to dance a fandango on a Mansart roof—and which marked the entrance to the real Botan and Kusukut possessions. I do not know that any purpose could be served by describing in detail the fatigues of the successive ascents. An idea of their general character may be taken from the fact that a steady upward march of four hours—that is, until sun-down, carried us only three miles. At five o'clock we passed over a lofty ridge, overlooking a deep valley, on the other side of which puffs of smoke were seen rising, volleys of musketry being heard at the same time. We had no means of knowing exactly to whom to attribute these demonstrations, but it was obvious enough that some of our friends were concerned in them. Soon after

this, we came upon the first of the barricades which the savages had roughly constructed—mainly by felling trees and interlacing their boughs.. It was not very difficult to pass through, but if it had been defended, as I suppose there must have been at one time an intention of defending it, the advance would have become an extremely serious matter from that moment. Other obstructions, similar in kind, but far more complicated, followed it in rapid succession.

“Up to this point, the soldiers had marched, necessarily, in single file, but with great alacrity and perseverance. Here, however, they began to slacken a little. According to all previous calculations we should have reached Botan long before sundown, but now night was falling and we were in the midst of the mountains, surrounded by a stunted wilderness, and with no knowledge of our whereabouts, beyond the general fact that we were somewhere in the heart of Southern Formosa. Finally, close upon seven o'clock, we were confronted by a maze of barricades, compared with which those that had preceded were like the windings of a pleasure ground. The largest trees I had seen on the island, Banyans and others, were thrown across the path, in such tangled profusion that to pierce through them was an impossible task. It was the work of almost half an hour to clamber over a single pile of these obstructions, and one was no sooner surmounted than another rose to renew the opposition to our progress. Some efforts were made to cut a way through, but this was entirely impracticable at that hour, and so the exhausted soldiers sat themselves down on such bare spots as they could find, without food or water, to sleep in the centre of an abattis. I doubt if a stranger bivouac has ever been heard of. Most of them—probably all of them were miserable enough, but, in spite of their discomforts, not a sound of complaint was heard from any source. If they had been surrounded by every luxury they could not have been more cheerful or in brighter humour. Here is the real discipline of the Japanese soldier—that which he himself exercises over his own temper, and which enables him, like his countrymen generally, to show high qualities of endurance and fortitude, not alone in danger, to which he is constitutionally indifferent, but on occasions

of personal distress or of grave anxiety and suspense such as few Western people can meet with equanimity. He is very far from a finished soldier, according to our strict notions of routine and drill, and in times of peace he has his favorite faults, which foreigners are quick to descry and exaggerate, but in his self-denying patience and his ready, hearty, willing spirit, he is often a hero even more than in the reckless daring of his actions."

General SAIGO is presented to us in a most favourable light in Mr. HORSE's pages, and it will have been noticed, that, as on several occasions during the career of his brother an unwillingness to use the sword, except when absolutely unavoidable, was displayed; so the present Commander-in-chief sternly forbade the barbarous custom of decapitating slain foes; and the noble, generous intrepidity of his youth, when, as told in the interpolatory chapter in Volume 1, he sprung forward to protect his unarmed comrade, finds a fitting culmination in his ever forward personal performance of duty combined with a thoughtful gentleness, not always found among men—warriors from their youth.

The little fighting there was to do was soon accomplished. Most of the tribes came to terms without giving any trouble; and only the Botans, the men who were guilty of the particular crime which had led to the expedition, had to be sought out and fought. All had been concluded, and agreements entered into by which the tribes bound themselves to act humanely on any future occasions of shipwreck, when symptoms of a change in the views of the Chinese appeared. I have always held but one opinion:—That the Chinese would gladly have allowed the Japanese to take their own course; but that the foreign representatives and the foreign press both in China and Japan were so pertinacious in bringing the matter before them that they were forced at last to interfere. The idea that the temporary occupa-

tion of the extreme end of a remote island, divided by mountainous barriers, almost impassable, from the portion of the island inhabited by Chinese, and peopled by a few bands of savages, could be called a declaration of war against China was surely far-fetched; especially after the care that had been taken by Japan to explain the real nature of the expedition, and the assurance given at Peking that China had no opposition to offer.

YANAGIWARA had been appointed Japanese Envoy to Peking, quite unsuspecting of the turn things were about to take. His departure, however, was delayed by manifestations which showed that mischievous representations were being brought to bear on the Chinese, and that the subject of the expedition might be the most prominent one he would have to deal with.

He arrived at Shanghai, on the 29th May. On that very day, Dr. S. S. WILLIAMS, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Peking, wrote a letter stating that "the Peking authorities did not look upon the landing of troops in Formosa as a declaration of war." Since YANAGIWARA left Tokio, however, a dispatch had been sent from the Tsungli Yamen to the Japanese Government, which, whilst admitting the correctness of SOYESHIMA's report of his understanding as to the proposed Japanese "mission" to Formosa, declared that the Chinese Government never supposed that it would be accompanied by an armed force. A quibble, absurd on its very face! for, what kind of mission could have looked for success if unsupported by arms?

At Shanghai, YANAGIWARA was visited by PAN WU, then on his way to Foochow, *en route* to Formosa. From him he learnt that SHEN PAO CHEN had been ordered to visit Formosa, with a view to the adjustment of the matter with the Japanese Commander-in-chief.

On the 21st June, two Chinese ships arrived off the

spot where the Japanese army was encamped, having on board PAN WI, representing the central government on behalf of SHEN PAO CHEN, who had been detained by illness at Taiwan-fu. PAN WI was accompanied by YA HEN LIN, Taotai or Prefect of Taiwan, and by two French gentlemen, Messrs. GIQUEL and DE SEGONZAC, in both of whom the Chinese Government placed great confidence.

All that General SAIGO could do was to hear what they had to say, and refer them to his Government for their answer. One of their proposals was, that, having come to settle the affairs of the entire disturbed district in co-operation with the Japanese commander, they might enter into arrangements having this end in view. The reply of SAIGO was, that his instructions contemplated no such amalgamation. They were simply that he should punish the criminals of the past, and provide for future security of shipwrecked mariners of all nations. He had accomplished this duty, and neither required, nor could submit to, any co-operation.

After two or three consultations Pair Wi asked—“Suppose that the Peking Government would reimburse the Japanese for their outlay,—would that meet any of the questions in dispute?” This led, on the 25th June, to a definite proposition as follows:—

“The Chinese authorities to reimburse the Japanese for the cost of their expedition.

“The Chinese to guarantee such occupation of the savage territory of Formosa as should prevent the recurrence of outrages on strangers.

“These conditions effected, the Japanese forces to be withdrawn.”

It was agreed that the Japanese should suspend all active operations until the decision of the respective Governments could be received,

In reality the army had no more to do. They had shown the savages that acts of cruelty against the unfortunate would not go unredressed; and after the lesson they had given them that even the most secure of their fastnesses were no longer unapproachable by resolute pursuers, they would not be likely to run the risk of renewed hostilities.

The sequel may be told in few words. It had been deemed necessary to send General LE GENDRE to Foochow to explain the exact intentions of the Japanese Government to the Viceroy of Fukien, under whose jurisdiction Formosa was. Touching at Amoy on his way, to his amazement, the peaceful messenger of the Japanese was seized by the U. S. Marshal and a party of U. S. Marines. He was sent a prisoner to Shanghai where he was at once released, by orders from the U. S. Charge in Peking; but to this day neither he, nor the Japanese Government, has ever received a word of apology or any kind of redress for this illegal and high-handed proceeding. Of course it put an end to his mission to Foochow.

In the meantime, appearances assumed such a shape, that it was considered desirable to send Okubo to Peking armed with full powers. He was joined at Tientsin by General LE GENDRE, and on the 10th September they reached Peking. M. DE BUISSONADE joined them at the capital.

Affairs had become complicated; and to render them comprehensible to the general reader, a larger amount of detail would have to be given than I have space for. Discussions took place frequently but always fruitlessly. The Chinese were disposed to treat on the basis of the proposal made in Formosa, but not only did they dispute the amount to be handed as indemnity to Japan, but they would give no written pledge of any kind. Okubo asked for one in plain terms. He said "of course I do

not covet the indemnity, but if I should not be able clearly to explain the steps to be taken by you, and the amount of the indemnity, with what honour could I report the result of my mission to my Emperor and my countrymen after my return to Japan?"

* * * "Our Government will not place confidence in any diplomatic matter unless there be some written evidence of it." As the Chinese were firm in their refusal of such a pledge, and the Japanese equally determined to settle nothing without it, the conferences were on the point of being abruptly concluded. On the 25th October, OKUBO thus wrote :—

"Now I am quite hopeless and am about to leave. The notice given to you of our intention to punish the aboriginal tribes was set at nought by your Tsungli Yamén, and when we sent a Commissioner with troops to take vengeance upon the tribes that had murdered our shipwrecked people; and to remove the evils which threatened the navigation of those seas, you afforded us no encouragement in our difficult and dangerous task, but affected to be very proud of your mercy in not 'shoot-ing an arrow at us.' Under these circumstances, our philanthropic action, to our lasting regret, has been designated by you by the bad name of a hostile deed, while our undertaking of punishing the savages arose only from the necessity of protecting our own people. Henceforth, inside and back of the mountains, we shall continue to clear land, protecting those tribes which submit to us, and punishing those who oppose us, and shall complete our plan of action; without permitting any molestation on the part of your country. Finally, I have to say that as the present case cannot be decided by arguments, each country must go its own way and exercise its own rights of sovereignty. I do not wish to hear the further explanations and arguments you may have to offer. I am in haste to depart, and cannot go to your Tsungli Yamén to take leave of you."

This unmistakable language was all the more impressive from its contrast to the ordinary smoothness of

Japanese utterances ; and as it was followed by action, it produced its effect.

OKUBO commenced preparations for departure without delay. General LE GENDRE and some of the suite actually did leave on that very day. It would seem that the Chinese Government was sufficiently alarmed at this promptness ; for Prince KUNG hastened to the English Legation, and asked Mr. WADE, H. B. M.'s Minister, to act as mediator between the parties. For the first time he made a proposal that could be deemed acceptable to the Japanese Envoy, and one that Mr. WADE believed there was a reasonable chance of leading to a solution of all difficulties. There was no longer any hesitation as to having the agreement in writing, and an offer was made to pay one hundred thousand taels immediately for the families of the murdered shipwrecked seamen, and four hundred thousand taels "as indemnity for the various expenses of the expedition," after the troops had been withdrawn. OKUBO insisted that the latter sum should be paid *before* the withdrawal, and further that "the Formosan Expedition must be publicly recognized as just and rightful." On this basis Articles of Agreement were drawn up as under :

"[PREAMBLE.] Whereas, OKUBO, High Commissioner, Plenipotentiary of Japan, Sangi, Councillor of State and Secretary of the Interior Department [on the one part], and [names of Prince KUNG and nine other Chinese officials] of the Tsung li Yamên of China [on the other part], having discussed the subject of Articles of Agreement and fixed the manner of their settlement ; and it having been understood that the subjects of every nation must be duly protected from injury ; that therefore every nation may take efficient measures for the security of its subjects ; that if anything (injurious) happen within the limits of any state, that state should undertake the duty of reparation ; that the aborigines of Formosa formerly committed outrages upon subjects of

Japan; that Japan sent troops for the sole purpose of inflicting punishment on these aborigines, and that the troops are to be withdrawn, China assuming the responsibility of measures for the future; therefore, the following Articles have been drawn up and agreed upon:

"ART. I.—The present enterprise of Japan is a just and rightful proceeding, to protect her own subjects, and China does not designate it as a wrong action.

"ART. II.—A sum of money shall be given by China for relief to the families of the shipwrecked [Japanese] subjects that were maltreated. Japan has constructed roads and built houses, etc., in that place. China, wishing to have the use of these for herself, agrees to make payment for them. The amount is determined by a special document.

"ART. III.—All the official correspondence hitherto exchanged between the two states shall be returned mutually, and be annulled, to prevent any future misunderstanding. As to the savages, China engages to establish authority, and promises that navigators shall be protected from injury by them."

The "special document" referred to in Article II. was made a separate subject of consideration chiefly because grave doubts existed as to the Chinese fulfilment of an agreement which would involve the complete surrender of their strongest points of objection. It was thought desirable by the Japanese Commissioner that the name of Mr. WADE, who had already (Oct. 27th) given a personal pledge that the terms of settlement should not be altered, should appear in testimony of his knowledge of China's submission in respect to the questions which had been disputed with so much persistency. It was consequently introduced in the subjoined

CONTRACT.

"With regard to the question of Formosa, Mr. WADE, H. B. M.'s Minister, having spoken on the subject to the two parties, they, the said Commissioners of the two nations, have arranged for settlement thus:—

"I.—China agrees that she shall pay the sum of one hundred thousand taels, for relief to the families of the subjects of Japan who were murdered.

"II.—China wishes that, after Japan shall have withdrawn her troops, all the roads that have been repaired and all the houses that have been built, etc., shall be retained for her use ; at the same time consenting to pay the sum of four hundred thousand taels by way of recompense ; and it is agreed that Japan shall withdraw all her troops, and China shall pay the whole amount without fail, by the 20th day of December, the seventh year of Meiji, with Japan, or on the 22nd day of the eleventh moon, the thirteenth year of Tung Chi, with China ; but, in the event of Japan not withdrawing her troops, China shall not pay the amount.

"This settlement having been concluded, each party has taken one copy of the contract as voucher."

Thus all was settled, and once more Japan held up her head as a leader in paths of humanity ; a fearless actor in the *rôle* she marked out for herself, in spite of whatsoever influences might be brought against her.

CHAPTER XL.

1875.

FIRST EFFECT OF THE FORMOSAN EXPEDITION.—ABOLITION OF SA-IN.—ESTABLISHMENT OF GENRO-IN.—TAI-SHIN IN.—MUZZLING THE PRESS.—INCREASE OF NEWSPAPERS AND BOLDNESS OF THEIR UTTERANCES.—WHAT LED TO THE CHANGE IN THE PRESS LAW.—RIGID CENSORSHIP.—THE PRESS A MEANS OF EMPLOYING THE SHIZOKU.—THE SHIZOKU AS EMPLOYEES.—SAGHALIEN CEDED TO RUSSIA IN EXCHANGE FOR THE KURILE ISLANDS.—NATIVE STEAMSHIP COMPANIES.—THE MITSU BISHI.—THE NATIONAL MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY.—THE POSTAL SYSTEM AND ITS RAPID DEVELOPMENT.—PURCHASE OF PACIFIC MAIL S.S. CO.'S STEAMERS BY THE MITSU BISHI CO.—EXAMINATION BOARD.

ONE effect above all others, was produced by the success of the Formosan expedition—the popular excitement was allayed, and the government acquired a kind of temporary popularity, which gave it time to look about it, and solidify measures for the good of the country.

It was not long before they showed their strength. They commenced by proclaiming an amendment of the constitution—sweeping away that one of the three branches of the Daijokuan known as Sa-In—the delibera-

tive Department, and replacing it by one named Genro-In, which was to be a kind of Senate, and to deal in a more weighty manner with the questions submitted to it, than its predecessor had done. It is not, I fancy, so effective as the public expected it to be; for, from the representations made at the time, great expectations were indulged in.

Another change, however, has been of signal advantage to the country—the establishment of the Tai-Shin-In—or High Court of Justice, having concurrent original jurisdiction with the Superior Courts; and being an ultimate Court of Appeal in all cases Criminal as well as Civil.

Besides these there was yet one more matter of surpassing importance that was taken in hand. And this was nothing more or less than the “muzzling of the Press.”

It had become necessary. I have said that none of the papers, except the *Nisshin Shinjishi*, at first dared to write articles on public events. Those that appeared in the paper named were frequently replied to in the shape of letters in other papers which rapidly sprung up, and it was soon evident that there was an abundance of thoughtful intelligence lying dormant, among cultivated men whom the changes had left unemployed, which was only waiting for such an outlet as the Press promised to afford. The rapidity with which newspapers were springing into existence showed with what avidity such means of discussion and inter-communication would be availed of. Gradually the objectionable kind of paragraphs I have elsewhere alluded to were discontinued, and a serious appreciation of the high ends of a well-regulated Press was exhibited.

At length, towards the end of 1874, newspapers having been established in many of the provinces as

well as in Tokio and Osaka, all fears were set aside, and outspoken comments on any subjects that occupied public attention, became the order of the day. The Government did not at first take any notice of them ; but finding that some of the writers were exercising their newly acquired facilities of spreading their opinions, in abuse of Government measures, and even of individuals, it was determined to bring the writers under some kind of control. One right that the new Government had accorded to the people was that of petition. The memorials were sent in to the Genro-In, and there decided upon. Many petitions were thus sent in, boldly assailing the doings of the Government ; one even going the length of demanding the disgrace and decapitation of the Prime Minister. By some means the text of this memorial got into the hands of one of the new Editors, who published it in his paper. This was a climax, and the Press Law was promulgated, bringing newspapers and periodical publications under such rigid censorship, that although, in spite of everything, the newspapers have quintupled in number since the law was passed, hardly any Editor has escaped punishment at one time or another by imprisonment for a longer or shorter period ; or by fines of a greater or less amount. The very persecution,—for really, in some instances, it has amounted to this,—to which it has been subjected, has seemed to strengthen the growth and importance of the Press ; and it has found employment for thousands of samurai of all ranks. It is remarkable that the compositors of all the Japanese newspapers in Tokio, and I fancy elsewhere, are samurai, and their steady industry, regularity, and good general behaviour, are their marked features. It must be remembered that I speak from experience. On the *Nisshin Shinjishi*, for four years, I had over sixty of them employed ; and the pleasure with

which I always entered the office, was quite unlike anything a man knows among ordinary workmen.

There was not one who hadn't the manners of a gentleman. There was not one who did not make me a polite bow as I entered and left. There was often plenty of merriment, which I didn't interfere with, so long as their work was well done; and there was never any quarrelling. The Editor was of an old *hatamoto* family under the Shogunate, and had been vice-Governor of Hakodate. He had one failing—viz., an unconquerable objection to modifying his style of writing—from the most scholar-like to which he and all of his standing had of old been accustomed,—and bringing it down to the comprehension of the multitude. Everyone said how beautiful was his language, but I had many convincing proofs that it often took some of its professed admirers a long time to understand it. It had the effect, however, of placing the paper very high in the estimation of the highest and most cultivated classes.

All the subordinates—and an English journalist would be surprised to know how many he required,—were men of equally good family. The manager of the paper was formerly treasurer of one of the most powerful southern clans, and the clerks under him were well-born men of a northern clan. The chief reporter was paid a high salary, and employed his own men. They were all his old *kerai*, under the old *régime*; and even the office messenger was a samurai. The only men who were not so were the machine and press men and their staff.

Taking this then as an example, and making allowance for the greater economy with which the natives are able to work, it may easily be seen how very important a field of labour the Press opened for the old two-sworded men—the real brains of the country. But the same irrepressible boldness that they have always possessed in action,

has displayed itself in their utterances. They will write ; and regardless of all consequences they refuse to avoid criticism of the Government and the officials. It has never once been found that when one writer or editor has been incarcerated, there was no man of ability to step at once into his place, and run the same risks. It is true they are more prudent than formerly, and present what they have to say in guarded language, but with all their care the censor is constantly down upon them, and it may truly be said that since the Press Law has been promulgated "uneasy lies the head of him who" wields an editorial pen.

It was during the year 1875, that YENOMOTO, who had been sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Russia, concluded with the ministers of the Czar that arrangement by which Saghalien became Russian territory, and the Kurile islands Japanese. These latter are turned to account rather by foreign residents in Japan, than by the Japanese themselves ; for every year, of late, a few small schooners have been fitted out, and, leaving Yokohama about April, proceed to them for the purpose of seal and sea-otter hunting, generally with a fairly profitable result. They return with their spoils about October, in time to send them to the great European markets before Christmas. I am told, however, that there is a great diminution in their numbers ; and that unless discrimination is used by the hunters, and a close season rigidly observed, the ventures may come to an end in a few years.

In Chapter 27, I have mentioned as a sign of the times, that native merchants were talking about purchasing foreign steamers for the legitimate purposes of trade. Two companies sprung up with the intention of carrying out such projects, one of them being composed of merchants in Tokio, the other emanating from the Tosa clan.

I am under the impression that the latter, which was first known to foreigners under the name of the Tosa Company, and subsequently as the Mitsu Bishi (three diamonds) Company, was established on a small scale, with money provided by the Prince of Tosa ; but whether that was so or not, the steamers were placed under foreign officers, and the company's business in Yokohama was managed by Messrs. WALSH, HALL & Co. The trade was confined to the coasts of Japan ; and, on the whole, was conducted with so much regularity that it acquired a good name from the first, and has retained it to this day.

The other company was known to foreigners under the title of the "National Mail Steamship Company of Japan," and for a while enjoyed the Government support, to an extent that ought to have ensured it success. In addition to ships purchased by the company the Government placed several steamers at its disposal on terms that were tantamount to making them a free gift. They had the privilege of carrying the mails ; though as yet these were limited. Still they enjoyed the prestige that this Government patronage conferred ; and had the affairs of the company been conducted with the most ordinary prudence, they must have carried everything before them.

They had no European manager properly so called ; but Mr. POUNDERS was engaged by them as interpreter, and expected to act as a kind of general adviser. They employed European officers and engineers, and a European superintending engineer ashore. It is within my personal knowledge that had the directors acted up to the advice they received, the fate of the company might have been very different from what it was. But, as a fact, from the president to the stokers, every native employed was watching for opportunities of

helping himself. The foreign officers all tried to combat this universal pilfering until they found it hopeless, and were obliged "for peace and quietness" to let the native officers and men deal with their employes, and be dealt with by them, in their own way.

When Mr. PROUNDES saw the state of things on board of the ships—the crass ignorance of the native officers, and their total lack of authority over the crew—he strenuously set to work to induce the Government to institute a board which should take such matters under its control. The directors of the company, to whom such duties as properly devolved on them were entirely new—for such companies had never existed in Japan, were deaf to all his representations; and it was left for others to accomplish what they might have so easily effected to their own benefit. It is impossible to conceive people more pig-headed, obtuse, slow, suspicious and blind to their best interests, than the class of Japanese who belonged to this company. None thought of exerting all their energies for the one object of pushing the general interests of the association. Each watched everyone else jealously; and all thought themselves too clever to need advice. One had the supply of coals, another the purveying of ship's stores, and so on; so that the kind of feeling with which any one who reported short deliveries or incorrect returns would be regarded, may be easily imagined.

Indeed the first extensive company that had been established in Japan, literally fell to pieces through this want of mutual honesty towards each other on the part of its component parts. It ceased to exist, and the Government had bought some experience at a cost of about \$3,000,000. The Mitsu Bishi Company gathered strength, and came to the front. There was a great deal that was far from perfect as regards the native

officers and men on board their vessels ; but the native director, Mr. IWASAKI, had the sagacity to observe and profit by the honest management of their Yokohama agents. On them the lesson thus practically learnt was diligently applied ; and when the National Mail Steamship Company fell, they were in a position to take its place. They obtained all the patronage the Government had bestowed on the other company, and more.

I will diverge a little, and recall to the reader's mind that, towards the end of 1871, it was determined to inaugurate a postal system throughout the country. This had met with marked success ; and in 1873, Japan considered itself competent to take the foreign mails under its own control. Hitherto there had been three Post offices at each of the principal open ports—English, French and American. They had originally all been in charge of the respective Consulates, the mail steamers of each nationality delivering the mails they brought unto officials appointed to receive them, and receiving from them the mails made up for them. The English Post office, however, had been separated from the Consulate, and made a branch of the Hongkong Colonial Post office, under a Postmaster appointed from thence.

In 1873, Japan entered into a Postal treaty with the United States ; and endeavoured to make similar arrangements with England and France. The real secret of this movement was the idea that foreign Post offices on Japanese soil were an infringement of the imperial rights. And as success had attended the organization of local Post offices, the Government were confident in their ability to undertake the whole system of foreign as well as home mails. A competent person, Mr. BRYAN, was engaged in Washington to take the general superintendence, and plans were made for suitable buildings.

In 1874, the Postmaster General issued a report that showed the progress of the Post office system. Although only three years had passed since it had been inaugurated, the Post office revenue from all sources for 1874 amounted to \$352,244. The expenditure amounted to \$502,190; but this included the cost of Post office buildings in Tokio, and at Yokohama, Nagasaki and Kobe, besides furniture and various other outlays of a similar character. The number of letters, newspapers, books, patterns, &c., transmitted in the mails during 1874 was close upon twenty millions.

From this it will be recognised that the letters, &c., to be conveyed by steamers must have become a large and very important proportion of the whole.

The consequence was that the Government entered into arrangements with the Mitsu Bishi Company, which enabled it to launch out with vigour; and to seek to make its organization stronger and more perfect than ever.

Ever since 1867, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had run a branch line of steamers between Yokohama and Shanghai, in connection with their main line between San Francisco and Hongkong. It was kept up by means of four large and most commodious steamers of an average of 2,000 tons each, and proved very profitable. There were large premises and good warehouse and wharfage accommodation at Shanghai; and everything was in the most complete and regular running order. The Mitsu Bishi Co., made a bold bid for steamers, premises, lighters and good-will; and after considerable negotiation, a contract was signed, and the whole transferred to them. It at once gave not only the company, but Japan itself, a standing among the trading nations in these seas. The Japanese flag was no longer confined to the coasts of Japan, but became familiar in the largest commercial emporium in the Far East.

The company engaged foreigners as agents at each of the open ports—but not as managers. Each office has its native manager and clerks—the foreign employés being considered as subordinate to, although rarely interfered with by, them. The Government not only subsidizes the company largely, but has presented them with several large steamers, some of which having been sent home and refitted with modern machinery, are among the finest that enter and leave the ports. The officers are foreigners on all the principal steamers; but the company has been made the means of inaugurating an Examination Board, consisting of competent Europeans, before which every officer, foreign or native, seeking to be employed by the company, must submit to be examined. Everything is so well conducted, so far as casual observers can see, that it is a pity the jealousy entertained of all foreigners, prevents such a company becoming a regular and permanent “service,” into which men of superior abilities would feel pride in obtaining admission, and in which, as a permanent employment, they would bend all their energies to maintain it on such a footing as the great mercantile steamboat services of Europe and America. But the Japanese only look upon foreigners as schoolmasters. As long as they cannot help themselves they make use of them; and then they send them about their business, and get on the best way they can by themselves.

About the time of the purchase of the steamers of the P. M. S.S. Co., the Peninsular and Oriental S. N. Co. placed a couple of steamers on the line between Shanghai and Yokohama. Competition led to a reduction of fares and freight rates, which have been ruinous to both; but Government came to the aid of the native company by simply enacting a law that “all Japanese travelling in foreign steamers must be provided with passes for which

a charge of 25 *sen* (cents) will be made, and which must be applied for personally." Persons travelling by foreign steamers, without these passes, which were to be demanded on arrival at their destination, were to be arrested by the police. This was immediately effective, and the competition ceased. The line was left to the native company, and the monopoly has never since been disturbed.

Whilst saying so much on the germs of the mercantile marine, it occurs to me that I have omitted to notice one of the most effective efforts used to improve the navy.

In 1863, arrived from England, lent by the British Government at the request of the Emperor, Captain DOUGLAS, R. N., Commander JONES, R. N., Lieut. BAILLIE, R. N., Mr. SUTTON, R. N., and a number of experienced warrant officers of Her Majesty's Navy, for the purpose of instructing the pupils of the Imperial Naval School in every branch of seamanship, navigation, gunnery, naval tactics, and the sciences connected with their profession. A sloop-of-war was floated into an ornamental piece of water (connected with the sea) in the grounds of the College, and the course of education embraced both theory and practice throughout. Captain DOUGLAS left in 1875, resigning the charge to Captain JONES, who dying in 1877, the only officers left were Lieut. BAILLIE and Mr. SUTTON. Now all have gone home save a few of the seamen.

CHAPTER XLI.

1875.

**FUTURE OF THE SHIZOKU.—RETROSPECTIVE.—SHIMADZU
SABURO; HIS INFLUENCE AND OPPOSITION TO THE CABINET.
—RESTLESSNESS OF THE SHIZOKU.—ATTEMPT TO CONCLUDE
A TREATY WITH COREA.—OPPOSITION OF THE COREANS.—
MEASURES ADOPTED, AND DIVISION OF PUBLIC OPINION IN
JAPAN.**

I HAVE up to this time persisted in speaking of the hereditary swordsmen of the empire by the ancient term samurai; but since the Kugé and Daimios were all made nobles or Knazoku (flower-race) all the fighting men of lower rank have been termed Shizoku, (samurai race) and by this title I will hereafter speak of them.

The future of the Shizoku had now become a momentous question; one that gave the Government endless concern, and supplied people and press with an unceasing topic of discussion. The salaries they had been accustomed to from their feudal lords, and which the Government had agreed to pay, were a burden on the country which none supposed could be permanent; but the question was how to put a period to them.

The Knazoku were really very well provided for, but their allowances were the subject of debate.

Some might argue that the payment of these pensions ought not to have been either burdensome or objectionable. The Government got into their own hands property which had always under the old rule yielded enough to pay all the salaries, and hosts of other expensive demands. How was it then, that with the extra, and, what I will call, wasteful expenditure, no longer required, the payment of the simple salaries should be found a burden ?

It may have arisen from the fact of the Government having made such changes in the taxation, that the yield was not as great as before ; or it may have been, that for the luxuries no longer demanding lavish expenditure, were substituted national demands for the defence of the country, and for upholding its dignity at home and abroad. However this may be, the Government felt the pressure, and sought for means of alleviating it ; and the Shizoku themselves felt the ignominy of receiving pay for which they gave no kind of return.

The proposal of the Government for the commutation of the salaries had been accepted only to a limited extent ; and it was evident a more liberal measure could alone be effective.

I have told that many of the Shizoku had been absorbed by the Press. Probably the Medical profession was next most numerous sought. Engineering, was attractive to others ; whilst the hosts who had picked up a smattering of English, and offered themselves as translators, interpreters and teachers, were prodigious.

It was a masterly stroke of policy in one respect, throwing the army open, by the conscription, to the common people. Had it been composed as of old, in any of the rebellions since the great revolution, there is

no saying what might have been the result. But still, their old occupation gone, the position of the Shizoku has been, and is to this day, in most cases a sufficiently hard one.

The comparative quiet of the year 1875 afforded an opportunity for looking calmly on all the exciting events of the past sixteen years. Nothing remained as it was. It had to be seen whether changes made in haste were to be repented at leisure. To my personal knowledge, at least more than one of those who had taken prominent parts in the events I have had to record were not satisfied with the course things had taken. One man, indeed, who was an old officer of the Tycoon, told me it was the best thing that ever happened to the country—the making of the treaties. I remember so well the contempt I felt for him, when he gave me his reason. It was, because, if not in one way it was sure in another to bring about a revolution—and *now* samurai with a little money could speculate and make more, which they couldn't before. I only mention this, to add that it was the only instance I ever remember of money finding any consideration at all in the minds of those I conversed with. Most of them spoke quietly and feelingly—some hopefully, but not one exultingly. Some would talk of progress and civilization; and certainly the increase of knowledge, especially in the young; the evidences of their senses, that the army, the navy, their judicial system, their scholastic institutions had acquired a strength and solidity they could not have dreamt of a few years before; must have produced a powerful effect on the minds of men of the old school; to whom the progress must have been astounding, however unwilling they might be to allow that it was improvement.

One notable example comes again before us in the person of SHIMADZU SABURO. He had been adroitly made a personal adviser of His Majesty and afterwards a member of the Cabinet, in hopes of propitiating him ; but the old leaven was still there and could not be eradicated. His principles were in opposition to everything that was done. So strong was his bitter hatred of the measures of the Cabinet, that he went the length of asking the Mikado to dismiss Sanjo Daijin the Prime Minister, from his Cabinet, and when this was refused, he offered his own resignation which was accepted.

The immediate cause of the animosity he displayed was said to be the opposition offered by other members of the Council, including SANJO, to a proposal of ITAGAKI's that the Sangi, or members of the Cabinet, should not be as hitherto the heads of the Departments of State. The resignation of SHIMADZU was followed by that of ITAGAKI. There were many who did not hesitate to say boldly, that the real cause of SHIMADZU's discontent was that he and his clansmen still hankered after a return to the feudal system, and a passage of arms with Corea. He demanded also that the army should be confined to the samurai. His triumph would have been the clan's triumph ; and this, of all things, was what the ministers had to fight against.

One thing that the Government saw quite plainly was, that the pen of the Shizoku was likely to become as powerful a weapon as the sword. The operations in Formosa had partially allayed their irritation so long as they lasted ; and the success of their soldiers and their diplomatists gratified them, and gave a current to their thoughts and their criticisms for some time. The Government, well-knowing that this effect would only be

transient, determined to anticipate the outcry that might be looked for when the interest of the Formosan campaign had died out.

Accordingly an envoy in the person of Moriyama, the resident agent of the Japanese Government at Fusankai, in Corea, was ordered to endeavour to obtain a treaty. It was a clever diplomatic move; for it would be a genuine victory, if, after all the insulting bombast of the Coreans, they could be so far induced practically to eat their own words, as to enter into a treaty of peace, amity and commerce. If this could be effected, the mouths of the Shizoku would be closed, so far as demanding a hostile descent on Corea was concerned.

It must be understood that there had been ever since the conquest of Corea by TAICO Sama, a Japanese settlement at the port of Fusan; and although it was limited in size—only about 400 tsubos (a third of an acre) in extent, yet it has sufficed to keep communication open between the two countries. The settlement appears to have been held by a Resident and several officials. From an account of the settlement, written by a young naval officer who visited it in one of the ships of the Imperial navy in May 1875, it appears that the Japanese hired natives and employed them in their service. There were no women in the settlement. It was exactly like a monastery. There was one merchant, a native of the island of Tsushima, who transacted all business and had become rich. The Japanese were strictly forbidden to pass the barrier gate, which is placed about half a mile from their settlement, along the beach, even for marketing purposes. Furuyu gave the natives whom he hired Corean money, and they went to Torai-fu, the nearest city or town, a

distance of about seven and a half miles from the little port, and purchased the provisions required.

In September, 1875, the *Unyokuan* a Japanese gunboat, arrived off the island of Kokwa, at the mouth of the river leading up to the Corean capital, and anchored about seven miles from land. Having lowered two boats for sounding, they made for the shore to enquire whether coal could be had, or whether they could obtain water and fresh provisions. They passed some Forts, from the third of which they were fired upon from a musket, and as this was continued they returned the fire. It came on to rain heavily, and they made the best of their way to the ship, when the fort guns opened upon them—fortunately without effect. On the following day the ship felt its way in as close to the shore as the shallow water would allow, but was still obliged to keep a long way off. The Japanese commenced an attack, however, at long range, and at least two shells went right into the forts. They were, however, too far off to do anything of a decisive character; so putting about with difficulty, on account of the numerous small islands, the shallow water, and the powerful currents, they managed to retire about five miles, when they came to the castle of Yesô. The next morning before daybreak, two boats, containing in all thirty-two marines, sailors and officers landed under the eastern gate of the castle. The Corean soldiers attacked them with a shower of arrows, and a volley from matchlocks pointed through loopholes. The Japanese stormed the castle, sacked it, taking as booty 36 cannons, bows, arrows, spears, swords, drums, trumpets, books and all sorts of things, which they made the angry Corean soldiers carry to the boats, and help in putting on board the ship. They then hoisted

the Japanese ensign over the castle and set marines to guard it. At last they set the castle on fire, and all the men returning to the ship, they left on their cruise the following day.

Already the newspapers were recommencing the discussion of the propriety of sending a force to Corea, the majority, however, arguing against it. For a moment this affair strengthened the war party; but the government took the wiser step of sending an officer to announce to the Coreans their intention to send an expedition, with envoys whose special object would be to arrange a treaty in order to avoid all future causes of disturbance. The messenger, on communicating his proceedings to the government, stated that no foreign ambassador could be admitted to the capital; but this did not disconcert the plans laid down, any further than that it delayed the departure of the mission.

CHAPTER XLII.

1876.

SPECIAL EMBASSY TO COREA.—CONCLUSION OF A TREATY WITH COREA.—WEARING OF SWORDS FORBIDDEN.—IMPERIAL PROGRESS TO THE NORTH.—ARRIVAL OF A COREAN ENVOY.—HIS RECEPTION.—DISCONTENT IN KIUSIU.—RISINGS IN THE SOUTH.—SUMIYE JIMBEI.—MAYEBARA ISSEI.—DEATH OF SUMIYE JIMBEI.—MAYEBARA ISSEI ASSUMES THE LEAD.—CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF MAYEBARA ISSEI.—CAPITALIZATION OF PENSIONS.—PUBLIC OPINIONS ON THE MEASURE.—GREAT ADVANCE IN PRICE OF SILK.

THE Corea embassy, consisting of General KURODA as envoy extraordinary, and INOUYE KAWORU as assistant minister, left Tokio early in January 1876, and with a squadron of eight men-of-war arrived off Fusan on the 15th January. MORI ARINORI, lately Japanese Minister at Washington, was at the same time accredited to Peking, and his duty was to bring the whole circumstances of the expedition to the knowledge of the Tsung Li YAMEN, and, if possible, to get the cooperation of the Chinese government in the negotiations with Corea. It was quite doubtful as to what view would be taken by China, of the Japanese sending an armed force to the shores of a country acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperors, but it had been resolved to gain the

sympathy of China, if that could be; but to disregard any opposition her statesmen might offer. Fortunately China, without hesitation, acknowledged the propriety of Japanese action and seconded it by advising Corea to enter into the desired relations.

The negotiations required patient and diplomatic skill; but they were entirely successful, and on the 27th February, a treaty of friendship and commerce was signed; and the mission and squadron returned. It was a really remarkable event. Less than twenty years had elapsed since Japan was in a similar position to that which Corea occupied to the rest of the world; and now she was dealing with Corea as she loudly complained, and still complains, of other nations dealing with her. She even introduced into the treaty the very clause which she so earnestly desires to expunge from her treaties with the Western Powers.

It was, I say, a remarkable event; and it had the effect of allaying, at once and for ever, the Corean excitement. That the actual tradal advantages of having relations with Corea are worth much in a pecuniary sense, is extremely doubtful. So far as can be yet seen, there is nothing whatever to render it worth the while of any nation to disturb its isolation. Its resources are small; its people poor and filthy in their habits. The bare credit of having effected an opening is all that Japan enjoys for her pains. The employment of a few junks and the establishment of a monthly steamer intercourse is all that the trade has effected, after four years intercourse.

In 1871, Government had given permission to samurai to wear swords or not as they pleased. This had been gradually availed of to discontinue them, except on

special occasions. Now a notification was issued, forbidding the wearing *a sword*, except when in court dress, or if a military, naval, or police officer.

In June, His Majesty set out on a progress to the northern portion of his dominions, proceeding to Awomori by land, crossing over to the island of Yezo, and remaining there several days. On this occasion, every trace of the old customs of bowing down and sealing up the shutters of the houses was dispensed with. Everyone was free to look upon the sovereign, and everywhere he was greeted with happy faces. He made enquiries as he went along into the condition of the districts through which he passed, and of the people among whom he seemed pleased to find himself. It must have been a gratifying journey to the ruler, and in many ways it has been beneficial to the people. It added to his personal popularity and it strengthened the government.

An envoy from Corea arrived in the capital just before His Majesty's departure on this tour. The appearance of the minister and of the members of his suite was not such as to excite any admiration either from Japanese or foreigners.

The embassy arrived in a Mitsu Bishi steamer, on the 30th May, and on landing were conducted to the Town Hall, where refreshments were offered them. It is more than likely that they had never been in so fine a building as this before. They went to the windows, and stood gazing down upon the crowd, doubtless with as much curiosity as the Japanese displayed towards them.

When the hour was struck in the clock tower of the edifice they were evidently taken by surprise, and could not discover where the deep tones came from. Proceed-

ing to Yedo by the 10.45 a.m. train, a procession was formed: First—walked at a snail's pace two marshals dressed in white and blue, followed by a band of fourteen musicians, dressed in variously coloured garments, and playing on trumpets, flageolets, flutes, cymbals, conch-shells and tom-toms. Their strains were most distressing, but utterly indescribable. The Japanese crowd were tickled immensely with the music, and laughed immoderately. After them came two individuals, whose sex has never been revealed to this day. Each carried a box slung over the shoulder, which was supposed to contain the treaty, the credentials, or some important documents. The pair were bareheaded, their hair being plaited into a *queue*. These were succeeded by attendants with staves of office, spears, and flags, and then came two gentlemen gorgeously dressed, two others walking on either side of the litter or chair of the envoy. The minister himself was a fine looking man, clad in a robe of violet crape, and wearing a pair of large horn spectacles. The procession was closed by a number of men on foot and in jinrikisha.

The whole affair had a very bombastic, farce-like appearance; and the very adjuncts which were probably designed to be most impressive only provoked the laughter and jeers of the spectators.

Every civility and kindness that could be devised to gratify them, was shown them; but they did not appear to take any interest in anything. Some kind of surprise was expressed at the number of foreign built vessels in Yokohama harbour; but the railway did not evoke any special remark. In returning, the ambassador refused to go in a steamer that had a European engineer; and that officer had to remain in Kobe (I think) until the ship's return.

The journey of the emperor to the north was yet being extolled by the people, when the discontented in Kiusiu once more threatened trouble to the Government. It very much detracts from the sympathy with which foreigners might otherwise regard the Shizoku, to see the isolated, desultory manner, in which they acted. They were never all ready together, and the impatience of some, the dilatoriness of others, and too frequently the jealousies of the leaders of different clans, prevented anything like united action ; and almost ensured failure.

Toward the end of October Kiusiu was once more the scene of active rebellion ; and this time it was to continue, with a short interval, until life and treasure had been lavishly thrown away, and the man whom the emperor himself had thanked as having been the chief instrument by which he had regained his power, was swept from the face of the earth.

It was in Kumamoto, the ancient seat of the loyal Hosokawa of Higo, that the first ebullition occurred. The barracks were attacked by about 200 of the discontented ; the sentries, and numbers of the surprised and unprepared soldiers being killed. The rebels, recognizing the use the telegraph was put to in the Saga rebellion, cut the wires and destroyed the instruments as one of their first precautions. Next day, however, the soldiers having recovered from their panic, were brought out, and sent in pursuit of the disaffected, and wrought terrible havoc among them.

Several other outbreaks in the same neighbourhood proved how very general, in those parts, were the opponents of the government. Fortunately the officers of the ken were men of great promptness. The telegraph having been quickly restored, Government was com-

municated with, and troops of police and soldiers arrived by steamers within a wonderfully short time.

This rising was the result of long continued smouldering discontent. A Samurai of Higo, named SUMIYE JIMBEI, who under his old lord had been a retainer of 1,000 koku a year, brooded year by year over the changes; and though his old master took the trouble to try to persuade him to calm his troubled spirit and be loyal to the government in its altered form, he steadily refused. He, more than any single individual, kept up the irritation in the minds of the hereditary soldiers, and had the Saga rebellion been less promptly crushed than it was, he would have joined it with a considerable band. He was tardy, however, at the moment when he should have been all alive, and the opportunity passed away.

SUMIYE was much in communication with a Choshiu man of a somewhat impracticable temperament, MAYEBARA ISSEI. This man was everything that could be desired on the field of battle; and his deeds during the rebellion of 1868, were so marked as to call for and receive special reward. Like many others whose genius lay in no other direction than in directing or carrying out military movements, he was made governor of Echigo, and, afterwards called to Tokio and rewarded with high office in the war department. As, however, he differed in opinion with his colleagues, he resigned office; but in consideration of faithful services was rewarded with a pension, and allowed to retain his rank with an honorary title denoting his former distinction. In sullen chagrin, he retired to his native province, Choshiu, and his enthusiastic loyalty became changed into settled hatred of the men in office and all their doings.

Had he remained in Tokio as a competent official

no doubt all would have gone on much as it did ; and he would have done his part to bring about the changes. As it was, he looked on from a distance ; and saw all the old landmarks removed. As to the class to which he had so proudly belonged, he felt jealous beyond measure, for them. The history of the nation centred in them—yet what were they now ?

It must not be supposed that there was unanimity of feeling among the clansmen, and that all were alike disloyal. On the contrary, there were in Kumamoto five parties—the *Gakko-ha* (school party), the *Jitsu-Gaku-ha* (true literature party), the *Keishei-ha* (God-respecting party), *Jimpo-ken* (good mind association) and the *Minken-ren* (freedom party). It was the *Keishei-ha* and the *Jimpo-ren* who were the most obstinate. As a native writer says, they did not know what civilization meant. All they desired was—feudalism. It was they who would have risen with SUMIYE, but just at the moment when the plans appeared complete, and the understanding between MAYEBARA and SUMIYE assured, the latter died, and all was upset.

By their jealous but foolish impetuosity the *Jimpo* now placed themselves in communication with MAYEBARA ; but they did not wait until any real combination could take place. MAYEBARA, by certain addresses that he issued, so identified himself with the movement, that he was justly considered its leader, and yet the first outbreak was not made by him. Of course, as has always been the case, in every rebellion, manifestoes were issued, asserting the loyalty of the rebels to the Emperor, but their desire to disenthral him from the control of his ministers who were bringing the nation to destruction ; and, curiously enough, there were found among

foreigners, some who professed to believe in MAYEBARA's loyalty.

In one month—that is by the close of November—this particular ebullition came to an end. MAYEBARA set sail for Tokio, as he said to present a petition to the Emperor. He, and a few of his fellow conspirators were captured at Uriu, where they were forced to put in for water. He was decapitated at the age of thirty-nine.

A brief interval—only two months—and then burst forth the rebellion of SAIGO, which fairly taxed all the energies and all the resources of the government. It belongs, however, to another year, and shall be told in another chapter.

In August the scheme was promulgated by which the hereditary incomes and life pensions of the Nobles and Shizoku were compulsorily capitalised, each claimant receiving from the Government, bonds for the principal, bearing interest, at from 5 to 14 years purchase, in proportion to the amount of the income, the large annuities terminating in the shorter period. Thus, incomes of yen 70,000 and upwards were to be exchanged for bonds bearing 5 per cent interest, for five years purchase; and as the incomes decreased in amount, the number of years purchase, and the rate of interest were to be greater. The incomes of the great nobles would thus be extinguished first, and the lower Samurai last.

The native press extolled this measure to the skies; and the common people (who probably hardly understood it) were well pleased with it. Foreigners looked upon it simply as a great injustice done to a certain class, but undoubtedly under the pressure of expediency, and to the relief of the country at large. The figures speak for themselves. The annual burden was yen

18,000,000 per annum ; to redeem which a total sum of about yen 235,000,000 spread over thirty years was substituted. It is not to be wondered at that those who were affected by the measure should exhibit some sort of dissatisfaction.

I have not in my later chapters paid any attention to commerce ; but a movement that commenced in May this year in the silk trade ought not to be passed without notice. Reports arrived of a failure of the yield in France and Italy. In twenty-two days prices rose 38 per cent, and continued to advance until silk, that had sold slowly at \$450 per picul, was now bought with avidity at \$1,200. By October the export amounted to 14,000 bales against 4,000 at the same period of the preceding year ; and on the average, the price had been double that of the previous twelve months.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1877.

REDUCTION OF THE LAND TAX.—LIMITATION OF LOCAL TAXATION.—DISCONTENT AMONG THE FARMERS.—ALARMING REPORTS FROM KIUSIU.—SAIGO, FIELD MARSHAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.—SHIMADZU HISAMITSU.—DEATH OF THE AUTHOR OF "YOUNG JAPAN."

THE very first notification of the Government issued in the year 1877 was one announcing the reduction of the land tax from 3 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the assessed value of the land; a concession to the popular discontent which laid on the Finance Minister the necessity either of raising \$8,000,000 by some other fiscal imposition, or of reducing the national expenditure to that extent.

The notification, signed by SANJO, Prime Minister, was accompanied by the following

IMPERIAL DECREE.

"Almost immediately after the Restoration, duties of a novel nature, and many needful improvements were undertaken by the government both at home and abroad which necessarily greatly increased the national expenditure. The burden of this fell upon the people, and was hard to be borne; for which reason we ordered that the mode of taxation should be remodelled, and settled at 3 per cent on the value of the land, thinking thus to

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afford relief to our people. But having recently visited various parts of our dominions, we have carefully observed the agricultural population, and, sympathising with their condition, have determined still further to reduce the land tax to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the value of the land. We, therefore, order all officials to act in accordance with our will, and to be as economical as possible in the public expenditure."

4th January, 1877.

In addition to this it was notified that in future the tax for local purposes levied on the people must not exceed one-fifth of the amount of the land tax.

But while the Government was doing the best it could to propitiate the farmers, there was an unpleasant grumbling pervading the country, emanating from among the farmers.

But again, from Kiusiu, and this time from Kago-shima—the province of Satsuma—the Shizoku began to make themselves felt. Disquieting portents were reported as causing grave apprehensions among the ken officials, and filling the minds of the MIKADO and his ministers, with alarm. In truth, this anxiety had existed more or less, from the time of SAIGO's retirement from the cabinet. Great efforts were made to induce him to withdraw his resignation; and when those efforts proved fruitless, the Emperor promoted him to the rank of Field Marshal, and nominated him Commander-in-Chief of the army. This rank and office he was compelled to retain, although he refused to remain in Tokio, or take any part whatever in government affairs.

He went to his native province, and settled himself as a simple farmer at the village of TAKE, (TAKEMURA) about two miles from the town of Kagoshima. He bought a large piece of waste land, about 2 ri, five miles,

in extent, placed it under cultivation, and his principal apparent occupations were the direction of his farm, study, composing verses, and occasionally in the indulgence of sport, principally rabbit hunting. But SAIGO was evidently 'biding his time.' Although the Government did all in their power to hide their fears from the public, and particularly from foreigners, there were plenty of persons from whom they could not be concealed. To this day no one knows, and probably no one ever will know, the extent of sympathy existing between SAIGO and SHIMADZU HISAMITSU; but the uncertainty of the shape it might assume became a constant source of trouble in high quarters. Indeed, all was mystery. Everyone knew that SHIMADZU was the embodiment of all that his own clansmen most desired, yet none could realise what the course of individual Satsuma men would be in case of his being induced to show himself in open rebellion. The deep-seated principle, *chiushin*, fidelity to the chiefs, was the most active in the minds of all Samurai; but as to the Satsuma clansmen, it was from these that several of the prominent offices in the government had been filled, and among them were the great workers of the policy that was so hateful to their old chief.

So long as SHIMADZU HISAMITSU was in Tokio, there was not much to fear; the only thing to be apprehended was, the influence that might be brought to bear upon him at Kagoshima.

The solution of all was at hand. He returned to Kagoshima, but lived quietly, apparently grieved that he had been unable to effect any of his own ends in Tokio, but, evidently, without any inclination to become a personal leader in rebellion.

But it was far otherwise with the brave clansmen who had lived on year by year in hopes of being called

upon to draw their swords to restore "the good old times."

SAIGO had established the Private School at Kago-shima, and KIRINO, SHINOWARA and others, followed him, and assisted in establishing branches in all parts of the ken. The pupils were rough and lawless, and fearlessly abused both the Government and the officials. They strictly drew the line between the Shizoku and the common people, and became as troublesome to all other classes than their own as they were a source of anxiety to the ken officials.

The pupils in the private school and its branches, reached twenty thousand in number, of whom Kago-shima had over three thousand. Pupils under 15 years of age were not allowed to go beyond 25 ri from the Kencho. They practised violent exercises, running, leaping, clambering over precipitous mountains, swimming in the sea, and wading rapid-flowing rivers; everything that could be thought of to strengthen their bodies or maintain their health; and, above all, sword and spear play incessantly between the intervals of other exercises.

In the service of HISAMITSU were about 3,000 men, all of whom adhered to the style and were known as the *yukokuto* (patriotic party).

KIRINO had about 3,000 pupils, called *kagekito*, (too advanced party).

During the years 1875-6, this vast party purchased arms and ammunition, and were with difficulty restrained by SAIGO from rising. When, however, the *emeute* of MAYEBARA ISSEI had come to naught, they became nearly unmanageable. It became, therefore, an object of the Government, if possible, to deprive the excited clansmen of the means of becoming dangerous.

There was at Kagoshima an extensive powder factory. Indeed there were two—one at the extreme end of the town, the other at Sakurajima. Besides these at a distance of nearly a mile, was a naval arsenal and the iron-works of Iso. Near this latter was the spinning factory which I have casually noticed.

Government sent a steamer, with the intention of taking the powder away quietly; but the pupils of the Shigakko heard of it, and without an instant's delay went to both factories, and broke open the doors of the magazines. At the moment nothing was going on; but the men of the *Sekirio-maru* came to fulfil their orders as to removal of the powder, when they were accosted by these desperate young two-sworded men, and seeing their own inferiority in numbers, and, indeed, being quite unprepared for fighting, attempted flight. They were, however, laid hold of, and compelled to remove several hundred boxes of ammunition—not to their ship, but to the "school." This was on the 31st January, 1877.

From this period all was turmoil. The Kenrei was communicated with, and it cannot be doubted that he endeavoured to play a loyal part; but he was so bewildered by all that now began to be developed, that it is easier to express an opinion that he was no rebel, than to prove it.

The first thing done by the officials of the factories, was to saturate the powder still remaining with water; thus rendering it useless, but an attack was made by the pupils the next night, and they carried off large stores of rifles, balls and shells.

A report was at once sent to Admiral KAWAMURA, Vice-Minister of the Naval Department; but in the meanwhile, the 'private school' party got possession of

the factories and sending all the workmen who were not Satsuma men about their business, ordered their own clansmen to set to work and make arms and ammunition for them with all the celerity they could.

But now arrived from Tokio many Satsuma men who had been employed there in the police. The report was circulated that these men had come, suborned by OKUBO to assassinate SAIGO. Professing great alarm, they stationed fifty men every night at his house at TAKEMURA for his protection. It is said that they found, one evening, suspicious looking men under the floor of SAIGO's sleeping room. The discoverers called their comrades, and surrounded the house. Three men jumped out with unsheathed swords. Desperately rushing among the pupils they attempted to cut their way through them; but two of them were instantly killed. From the survivor they elicited the statement that their object was the murder of SAIGO, and that they were acting in obedience to orders.

This was the commencement of the open rebellion; SAIGO was strongly urged no longer to remain quiet; and the ringleaders were so unmistakably determined now to bring matters to a crisis and to run all risks, that it was hopeless attempting to resist them any longer.

Whether there ever was such an order issued as that asserted to have been given for the assassination of SAIGO can never be known. A full confession was made—

[Here the author's manuscript ceases. On June 11th, 1880, Mr. BLACK died suddenly, and as he was approaching the most momentous event in the domestic history of Japan since the restoration of the MIKADO to supreme power,—the Satsuma Rebellion. The official administrator of Mr. BLACK's estate has deemed it advisable to

present "Young Japan" to the public in its unfinished form; believing that the work as it now stands will be preferred to a continuation written by others, of whom few are to be found holding opinions upon the action of the Government of Japan, and the causes which prompted the insurrectionary movement of SAIGO TAKAMORI, in accord with the views taken by the deceased author. To render the second volume more complete, a chronological narrative of the principal events of the year 1877 is added; but "Young Japan" is presented to the public as the sole work of the late Mr. BLACK.]

CHAPTER XLIV.

1877.

THE CONFESSION OF NAKAHARA HISAO.—OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION.—REBEL LEADERS.—ARREST AND DEGRADATION OF OYAMA TSUNAYOSHI.—FIRST BATTLE, AND DEATH OF SHINOWARA.—REPORTED OVERTURES FOR A COMPROMISE.—FIRMNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—SAIGO TAKAMORI AND HIS INFLUENCE.—DESCRIPTION OF SAIGO TAKAMORI.—BELOVED BY THE COMMON PEOPLE.—HIS DEFENCE.—PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION.—HOPELESSNESS OF THE REBEL CAUSE.—SUCCESSION OF IMPERIAL VICTORIES.—DISPERSION OF THE REBELS AND FLIGHT OF SAIGO. — SUPPOSED CLOSE OF THE WAR.—SUDDEN REAPPEARANCE OF SAIGO AND KIRINO AT KAGOSHIMA.—RENEWED ACTIVITY OF THE IMPERIALISTS.—ATTACK ON THE REBEL POSITION.—DEFEAT OF THE REBELS, AND DEATH OF SAIGO AND KIRINO.—CLOSE OF THE REBELLION.—GENERAL VIEW.

THE last line of the preceding chapter states that a full confession of the plot to murder SAIGO TAKAMORI was made by one of the conspirators captured while attempting to break out of the house in which the Commander-in-Chief resided. This alleged confession was made February 5th, 1877, by one NAKAHARA HISAO, a police corporal, who declared, as the conclusion of a number of somewhat involved and irrelevant statements,—“ Now in consequence of your examination I have confessed that by the order of

“ ——— I formed a plot to assassinate SAIGO, and
“ further planned a scheme to raise misunderstandings
“ and trouble in the minds of the people; for which acts
“ I am truly ashamed. The above statements which I have
“ made are correct.” This is the confession upon which so
much stress was laid by the advocates of the cause of the
South, and the partisans of SAIGO. The testimony of
the person credited with this confession does not stand
alone; but if it is to be accepted, it is clear that some of
the highest officers of the Imperial Government must be
regarded as suborners of murder; a charge wholly at
variance with their policy prior and subsequent to the
outbreak of the rebellion. Identical confessions were
alleged to have been made by various other persons
holding positions similar to that held by NAKAHARA HISAO,
sergeants or petty officers of police, beyond which there
seems to be no corroborative evidence sufficient to ground
an accusation against any of the leading members of the
Government. This impression was so strong, that even
the most biassed opponents of the government refused
to attach any weight to the “confessions,” and that
diversion in favour of the insurgents gradually subsided.

On February 20th the Government issued the first
notification announcing that rebellion had broken out in
the Kumamoto *ken* in Kiusiu; and that an expedition
for its suppression would be despatched under command
of Prince ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA. Preparations were on
a large scale; the vessels of the Mitsu Bishi Steam-
ship Company were withdrawn from other services and
employed as transports; while numerous foreign vessels
were chartered or purchased for the same purposes. In
March active hostilities were in progress, the rebel
troops, ill-equipped, were full of confidence and had the
advantage of cool and able commanders in the persons

of SAIGO TAKAMORI, KIRINO, BEPPU SHINSUKE, SHINOWARA, YAMANOUCHI, KONO, MURATA SHINPACHI, and others.

Prior to the commencement of hostilities YANAGIWARA had been despatched by the MIKADO as special envoy to Kagoshima for the purpose of conferring with the leaders of the insurrectionary movement; and it is believed that abundant proof was furnished to him that the SHIMADZU family were not implicated. Suspicions were aroused in the mind of YANAGIWARA respecting the loyalty of OYAMA TSUNAYOSHI, governor of Kagoshima, who was prevailed on, under promises of safe conduct, to accompany YANAGIWARA on his return to Kioto. The envoy and the governor left Kagoshima March 14th, when the preliminary struggles between the opposing forces were being enacted in indecisive skirmishes. On the arrival of YANAGIWARA at Kioto, OYAMA was instantly made a prisoner; he was subsequently degraded, and sent, with every mark of indignity, to Tokio for trial.

On March 11th, a severe engagement took place at Kichiji-goi, during which the rebel leader SHINOWARA was killed, and the forces were withdrawn without any result; though the losses on both sides were excessive in comparison to the limited numbers engaged. March 18th, a pitched battle was fought by Lieutenant-General NODZU in command of the imperialists, and General KIRINO in command of the rebels. The rebel attack was resolute, and so determined that NODZU eventually fell back with great loss. On the 22nd March, OYAMA TSUNAYOSHI was deprived of his rank and office, and held a close prisoner upon charges never distinctly defined.

The reports from the seat of war continued to announce severe fighting, during which BEPPU SHINSUKE, KONO, YAMANOUCHI, and other distinguished rebel leaders were killed, while fighting with conspicuous bravery. From the

first, however, it was apparent that the imperial forces would eventually crush the power of the rebels ; and no surprise was evinced when the news arrived of the relief of Kumamoto on April 15th. Towards the close of April a rumour gained ground that overtures had been made by Government towards effecting a compromise ; but that the conditions were such that SAIGO would have been compelled to confess himself a defeated rebel, and sue to the MIKADO for pardon. The foreign press, especially one section of it, had assumed an attitude decidedly hostile to the government ; and every rumour favourable to the rebel cause was magnified unduly. Every difference of opinion in the Cabinet served as ground work for repeated assertions that the Ministers were seriously divided, and that the dissensions threatened to weaken the government cause : but subsequent events show the falsity of reports undoubtedly circulated with the object of strengthening the cause of SAIGO. Throughout this long and disastrous campaign, the MIKADO's councillors never failed in their resolution to destroy rebellion and vindicate the law. With a steadiness of purpose that should always be quoted to their honour, the Government devoted their best energies to the imperial cause, rightly judging that any vacillation on their part would be construed into a sign of weakness dangerous alike to the welfare of the nation and the safety of the crown. The men of the South, however, were equally resolute and full of ardour in the cause of their beloved leader SAIGO, a man whose great qualities and influence over his fellow men were thus eloquently described by a newspaper called the *Kakunin Shinshi*. In such high estimation was this undoubtedly great man held by the mass of the people that no apology is necessary for the quotations from this newspaper here given, which convey

a better impression of the popular opinion at that time than any individual opinion would do now.

“Although SAIGO TAKAMORI is the public enemy of the state; although his crime is, according to the laws of Meiji, absolutely unpardonable, he is still a great man. Was it not he who overturned the despotic Bakufu, and restored the ancient imperial authority? Did he not do this with infinite exertion and the most profound indifference to the perils which beset his person? And is it not for all this that his name will be remembered by future generations as that of the man who added a page of unwonted lustre to the historical records of Japan? Surely human glory is an idle dream or air drawn phantom! In a moment of passion, smarting under grievances, SAIGO took up arms, defied the imperial authority, and sought to destroy the ministry, and by so doing his magnificent fame is sullied, and will soon become a ruin.

“Though SAIGO is guilty of treason, for which crime his life is justly forfeit to the outraged laws of his country, he is still regarded by the mass as the greatest hero in Japan; and this opinion we should do violence to our reason by altogether discarding or denying its truth. If, therefore, he is a hero to-day, what will he not be regarded as in a thousand years, when men have learned to deal with his frailties with justice and tenderness.

“Who is the man who excites so much admiration? Who is SAIGO? He is a plain *samurai* of Satsuma. Born of a family having no pretensions to military rank or influence, and united by no tie of blood to the great of the land, he possesses qualities absolutely his own: when he raises his standard myriads of stubborn warriors flock eagerly around it; fight for their beloved commander; die for him, and rejoice in death earned in service so

noble. This quality or attribute of SAIGO was not possessed by any of our ancient warriors ; true, the powerful feudal lords of old trained their vassals to fight bravely and well, but they fought under stress of authority, not for personal love or veneration. Truly SAIGO TAKAMORI is a great man.

" The Satsuma *samurai* are not ignorant of the right principle, but they declare they cannot break faith with SAIGO. Wherever he goes, east or west, north or south, thither will they go. He has gained the hearts of his followers : they regard his person with veneration ; they respect him as their lord ; venerate him as their father ; and know no man above them but SAIGO.

" Our government at the commencement of the rebellion despatched the strongest forces the empire could afford against SAIGO ; but he, with a smaller army, defied them for seventy days, tormented them sorely nor showed any sign of fear or yielding during the hottest contests ever fought in our land. The imperial army being exhausted, newly enlisted troops were sent to the scene of action, and they succeeded in raising the siege of Kumamoto, whereupon SAIGO retreated towards the South, a movement we now know was dictated by policy not necessity, and was part of the pre-arranged tactics of the veteran.

* * * * * Would that this man with his devoted followers who are being sacrificed in unholy strife with their fellow-countrymen, and the treasure, which is our national blood, wasted upon internal dissension, had been used in an expedition to Corea. There, at most, we might have challenged the adverse criticism of the world, but we should have been spared the groans of a suffering country distracted with domestic strife. * * * *

" These, gentlemen, are truths, but say they are not, and say also that SAIGO has become so influential because

his followers are abject and slavish, and unworthy of their country. And say also that the absence, or present scarcity of great men in Japan, has given SAIGO an opportunity to earn for himself the title of 'hero,' an inevitable consummation for which you are devoutly sorry."

The last paragraph is, no doubt, a retort evoked by the numerous attacks that were at that time levelled against SAIGO by those who not unjustly regarded him as the moving spirit of the rebellion which was then shaking Japan to its centre: and the whole must be taken as a faithful reflection of the opinion of the mass of the people who, in the words of Mr. MOUNSEY, regarded SAIGO as "the greatest military genius of the age."

SAIGO was a man well known throughout the length and breadth of the empire; and a description of his person will help the reader to form an ideal of the personal qualifications which command respect in Japan. Mr. MOUNSEY has drawn so accurate a picture of the person and habits of SAIGO, that its reproduction here is pardonable.

"His fame no doubt rested on the services he had rendered as a general and a public man and on the prestige attaching to his position of chief councillor of the most powerful of the clans; but his popularity was due in a great measure to his personal character and qualities. Physically he was extraordinarily tall for a Japanese, being a full head above all his fellows; he was proportionately broad, had massive limbs, and would have been considered a well-built and powerful man in any country. His head was well formed, and in spite of his dark bushy eyebrows his face generally wore an expression of frank simplicity as well as of manliness. He was a good swordsman, and passionately fond of

field sports, such as shooting and fishing, in which he passed much of his time after his retirement from office; but by temperament and disposition he was averse to continuous study of any sort, and whilst in office, is said to have found the routine duties of his department most irksome and distasteful. Morally he had the reputation of being surpassingly intrepid and courageous; he was calm, resolute, and courageous at the same time, as well as sincere and true in his friendships. Wealth had apparently no attractions for him, and the money he had he spent with a liberal hand. His house near Kagoshima was like that of a well-to-do farmer, and he appears to have been frugal and sober in his habits. His retirement from office, and the unostentatious manner of his country life led people to believe that he had no ambition for himself, and he was thus endowed in the imagination of his admirers with all the self-denial of a true patriot. In all these qualities his character contrasted most favourably in the opinion of large numbers of the *samurai* and people, with those of the Satsuma and, indeed, most other clansmen who had risen to high places in the government, and who were considered in many parts of the country, and especially in the south, as mere place hunters. Saigo's manner too, captivated the minds of all who came in contact with him, and this combination of prepossessing qualities endeared his name amongst the people, and made him appear as the beau ideal of a *samurai* to all the military class, who considered him the representative of their best interests." (*The Satsuma Rebellion* pp. 110-112.)

This man was the centre of the great movement known as the Satsuma Rebellion. He had been a loyal and trusted servant of the MIKADO; and when the first

rumours of insurrection were received in the capital it seemed impossible that the leader could be the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, and the man who, of all the supporters of imperial power, had been the most faithful and devoted. This is hardly the place to attempt an explanation of the moving forces that impelled SAIGO to assume an attitude of direct hostility to the Government. That task has been performed by writers whose opportunities for accurately ascertaining the separate positions of the opposing parties were far greater than any now at our disposal. Still, although the rebellion has long been crushed, and the authority of the Central Government asserted in every part of the MIKADO's dominions, the people hold a lingering and warm regard for the memory of SAIGO TAKAMORI, whose death is regarded by the vulgar as a fable. That he was popular and beloved there can be no doubt; and a year or so after his death a pamphlet was published styled *Saigo Takamori Umemono Gatari* (lit. SAIGO TAKAMORI's dream speech) containing what purported to be an explanation of the causes which transformed an honoured subject into a leader of rebels. Historians are too apt to pass over the opinions and utterances of the common people with indifference, even contempt, forgetful apparently that the thoughts which animate the masses convey the best idea of the moving forces leading to resistance to constituted authority and the inception of rebellion. The story from which it is proposed to take a few extracts, was understood to have been written partly to vindicate the actions of SAIGO, and partly to defend him from the charges levelled against him of wanton rebellion for the gratification of purely personal ambition. The scene of the story is laid in heaven: the *dramatis personæ* are the deified spirit of the

great protector of Japan, and SAIGO transported in a cloud to the foot of the heavenly throne. Arraigned upon the charge of having provoked bloodshed and revolt, SAIGO stood upon his defence, and explained the circumstances which forced him to array his followers against the power of the MIKADO. The following extracts are worthy of perusal as illustrative of ideas yet surviving among the common people.

“ It will be well to recount all the circumstances which forced me to the actions now requiring defence or explanation. I was desirous of conferring with the MIKADO upon affairs of state, and, resolved to wait upon his Majesty in person, left Kagoshima with a scanty escort of retainers. While passing peaceably along the highway I was waylaid and attacked by armed men whom I afterwards discovered were imperial troops. My followers, eager in my defence, used their weapons, and a severe skirmish ensued, in which, wholly at variance with my intention at starting, the imperial flag was fired upon, and I found myself for the first time in my life arrayed in arms against the power of my sovereign. This sudden attack upon me and my in-offensive followers, combined with a diabolical scheme discovered at Kagoshima for my secret murder, goaded me to desperation, and I forthwith resolved on a policy of resistance, though I am wholly innocent of the charges of ambition and selfishness which men have not hesitated to bring against me. Here let me briefly review the situation in which I was then placed. The MIKADO is able, wise, and worthy to fill the throne of his illustrious predecessors ; but his council is not all pure. Not a few of the high ministers of state, actuated by corrupt and selfish motives, oppress the people, accept bribes, administer the government in an arbitrary and intolerant manner, and place ignorant and avaricious flatterers in places of high trust, to the everlasting prejudice of the honour of Japan, and the injury of her people. I saw a peasantry subjected to constant toil in the improvement and tillage of the land, oppressed by a heavy burden called the ‘ land tax ’ which, grievous enough to be borne

when payment could be made in kind, became fatally oppressive when a law was promulgated declaring that henceforth the tax should be paid in money. I witnessed, in the near future, a simple, affectionate, and loyal people driven, by the wicked advisers of the Crown, to revolt only to be quelled with violence and bloodshed, and to be thereafter still more heavily taxed and burdened. On the other hand, I saw the ministry living in luxury, as indifferent to the wants of the people as to the honour of the country when they concluded an infamous treaty of peace and commerce with Corea, for the purpose of evading the difficulties of the moment without consideration for the future.

“ While the real wants of the people were neglected, and the honour of the nation sullied, I beheld the cabinet passing laws compelling Japanese to adopt foreign garments, abolishing the use of the time-honoured sword, and defrauding the *Kwazoku* and *Shizoku* of their pensions. In the last mentioned act I saw the source of much danger and trouble to the state : the creation of a deadly enmity between the Government and the *Kwa-shizoku*, which could only be terminated by the destruction of the latter, for whom many snares and pitfalls had previously been unsuccessfully prepared. I knew that the hour of reckoning was fast approaching, and that the *Shizoku* were on the verge of an appeal to arms. My past experience had taught me that any pacific efforts made with the ministry for the alleviation of the burdens of the people or for justice to the *Kwa-shizoku*, would be equally vain with the efforts I had myself made five years before for the same purpose, when my expressed views were so coldly received, and so obstinately negatived, that I resigned my place in the national assembly, and retired to the temporary peace of my birth-place to watch, and, if practicable, control the course of events. It was there I founded schools for the instruction of the youth of Japan, not only in polite letters, but in the science of war ; and in pursuance of the latter scheme of instruction the students were reviewed in force, in plain and on mountain, practically illustrating the theory taught in the schools. This system of educating the youth of the country was wilfully misrepresented by certain members of the ministry who held it to be a

hostile demonstration against the Government. Of this opinion I was not informed until afterwards, as measures had been taken to remove me from the scene. In February an armed man was found concealed under the floor of my house, and he confessed that he was hired by certain high functionaries to assassinate me. On the discovery of this murderous design, contrary alike to the law of God and of man, and uncertain how many more attempts would be frustrated, I resolved that the time had come when the grievances I have mentioned should be laid before the Emperor in person. On my way to Tokei to perform this duty I was opposed by Government troops, and a war, not then contemplated except as a dire and last resort, was forced upon my people and myself."

This explanation failed to satisfy the great judge, and the following questions were put to Saigo :—

"First then, if your object in visiting the capital was merely to pay your duty to the Emperor, or to prefer loyal and proper requests, how was it that your retinue not only exceeded the privileges granted to the highest in the land in number and warlike equipment, but assumed the proportions of an army on the march? If you had possessed a pure conscience would you not have travelled with a modest number of vassals, and attained the object of your journey unmolested? From whence did you obtain the arms and ammunition supplied by you to your followers? It is true you were Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Japan, but was it not a prostitution of your trust to use the warlike stores, supplied by the state, for the purpose of arming men to revolt against the established power of which you were a trusted servant?"

"When Saigo had heard the questions propounded by the Spirit, his courage, which had for a moment failed, rose to its customary level: the pale hue of emotion had vanished from his countenance: with a bold front and without hesitation he replied. 'It has long been my earnest desire to explain the motives which led to my attempted visit to His Imperial Majesty, and I am now deeply grateful for the opportunity afforded me of speaking without reservation before a tribunal which can listen

without prejudice, and judge without bias. The answers I can give to the questions stated are such as may appease the anger apparent in the tone of a voice which at first gave me courage by its gentleness, then overwhelmed me by its sternness. I say then, first, that when I left Kagoshima on my projected visit to Tokei I was accompanied only by men who are friends alike to their country and to me. United in one common bond; with one common object in view; bound by the most solemn covenant to use our utmost endeavours; our property, liberty and lives were devoted to the common good: we sallied forth, not as an army on the march, but as a body of resolute men approaching in due respect and reverence the feet of their sovereign. The wicked machinations of my secret foes were not altogether hidden from me, and the fool would have been indeed wise in his own folly who trusted himself in the very jaws of the lion, without sufficient escort to ensure his personal safety. My conscience was unburdened, and my retinue peaceful: we offered violence to none, and had proceeded upon our journey as far as Kumamoto, when a body of troops opposed our further progress by opening fire upon us. Resenting this cruel interference with the undoubted rights of men guilty of no treason, I stood upon the defensive, and the skirmish became a general engagement, so far as that comprehensive term can be applied to the numbers who took part in that memorable affray.

“ Here, in justice to myself, I must not omit to mention that the commander of the Kumamoto garrison, whatever his military rank, who gave the order to fire upon me, was my subordinate; for I then held unchallenged the rank of Generalissimo of the imperial forces. My death, however, was to be accomplished at any hazard: my arrival in Tokei, possessed of the knowledge of the fiendish assassination project, would have been a day of bitter reckoning to many; and Consternation attempted to complete what Cowardice had begun. Had our march been characterised by rapine and violence: had we moved in violation of a national decree: had we been robbers or felons escaped from confinement, and as such a pestilential sore upon the body of the commonwealth, we had been proper objects of suspicion. Our purpose

was lawful and peaceful, and our expedition animated by a desire to confer benefits upon the great mass of our countrymen by a direct appeal to the Emperor. We were immediately termed 'rebels': our movement northwards became an 'insurrection'; and I, whose breast was free from disloyalty, was branded as the 'ringleader of rebels.' Those so called rebels were men of purest motives, the men who support empires, and without whom thrones would be shaken to their foundations.

" 'And I say, finally, that the arms used by myself and followers were not the arms provided by the Government. We went forth only taking with us the swords of our ancestors, as is the invariable custom of the *Samurai*; a remnant of antiquity doubtless sufficiently distasteful to a *parvenu* ministry to originate the story of misappropriation of Government stores, arms, and ammunition.' "

This defence of SAIGO is written with spirit, and contained so much substantial truth that the Government, anticipating the effect of such a publication upon the common people who held SAIGO in the utmost veneration, promptly suppressed the issue of the second part, or continuation announced for later circulation.

These extracts will serve to show the influence such a man possessed over the people, and will account for the powerful array of followers who offered a resistance so determined that the best energies of the Imperial Government were taxed in its suppression.

During the months of May, June, and July a succession of engagements took place, the majority terminating in imperial victories though the losses in men and material were, up to that time, greater on the imperial than the rebel side. The rebels preferred a species of desultory or guerilla warfare; inflicting severe losses upon the imperialist forces consisting chiefly of raw levies hastily raised in the northern districts, inadequately armed, unused to the country with which their opponents were

familiar, devoid of that enthusiasm which distinguished their adversaries, and distressed by the heat of an unusually warm southern summer. During the month of July alone the imperialist losses were stated to be 2,000 killed or seriously wounded; and the number suffering from slighter wounds and illness, was 4,000 more. Sickness had broken out in both camps; and although no trustworthy accounts were received of the losses sustained by the insurgents, it is reasonable to assume, from their known want of medical and surgical assistance, that they were heavy, and probably in greater proportion to their resources. In the month of August the reports daily arriving from the seat of war seemed to indicate a growing weakness on the part of the rebels; and activity on the part of H. I. H. Prince ARISUGAWA-NO-MIYA, Commander-in-Chief of the MIKADO's forces. The surrender of large numbers of the rebels marked the beginning of the end, and on the 14th August, Nobeoka, the last stronghold of the insurgents, was abandoned. From this time the imperial forces gained a number of successes terminating in the utter rout of the rebels, and the flight of SAIGO and KIRINO. These two generals, however, were mustering their followers for a final and desperate struggle, and on the 1st or 2nd of September the imperialists under General MIYOSHI were suddenly confronted at Yokogawa in Osumi by a powerful army of rebels under the two famous leaders SAIGO and KIRINO. It was here that the most important engagement of the campaign took place. Fighting continued for several hours, resulting in the defeat of the imperialists with great slaughter. The rebels then marched on Kagoshima, and, in spite of the presence of the fleet, reoccupied it. This diversion created the utmost consternation in Tokio; troops which were about to be

recalled were countermanded, and fresh levies were raised for the reinforcement of the imperial army. SAIGO had, however, made his last venture with any hope of success. Surrounded by vastly superior forces, shut off from assistance by sea or land, this notable rebel resolved to end the struggle with his life. Many accounts have been given of the closing days of the rebellion; and as native authorities are far from unanimous we must take the best supported version as the most probable and faithful. When SAIGO was informed that Admiral KAWAMURA had proceeded to a harbour some few miles to the northward, with the object of landing a force sufficient, in conjunction with General MIYOSHI's troops, to attack the rebels in the rear, he collected all the supplies, arms, and other material available, and withdrew to Shiroyama, a hill at the back of the city of Kagoshima.

From the inception of this movement, SAIGO must have been aware of the imminent peril of his position; and that further resistance was a sacrifice of his followers' lives; yet on the summit of the hill he resolved to make a last stand. The imperial generals at once invested the base of the hill, rendering escape impossible. Mr. MOUNSEY says that two emissaries from the rebels were received by Admiral KAWAMURA. They were charged with an inquiry, believed to have been made without the knowledge of SAIGO, whether, if the rebels surrendered, the life of SAIGO would be spared. Admiral KAWAMURA declined to say anything farther than that pardon rested solely with the MIKADO, and that an unconditional surrender was the only proposal he was prepared to entertain. No more fitting conclusion to this brief and imperfect account of this determined struggle can be presented, than the closing paragraphs of chapter XVI.

of *The Satsuma Rebellion*, by Mr. MOUNSEY. Admiral KAWAMURA had informed the rebel emissaries that he would await a further communication from the rebel camp until 5 p.m. that day, September 23rd, and if none arrived before that hour he would give orders for a general assault. The men departed and never returned.

“Admiral KAWAMURA, whose preparations were all made, and who had reason to believe that SAIGO's provisions and ammunition were nearly exhausted, kept his word. Before dawn on the 24th of September a tremendous shower of shells was poured on the summit of the hill, and under its cover and in the darkness the assaulting parties quickly scaled its slopes. They reached its brow almost without loss and thence fired volley upon volley with deadly effect into the rebel camp. Deceived by the previous feints, the rebels had been taken unawares and unprepared for a serious attack. Their batteries were seized and their gunners cut down at the first onslaught. Their guns were turned upon themselves. They resisted, as far as men could resist, with their small arms, but the contest was too unequal to last. SAIGO was amongst the first to fall, wounded by a bullet in the thigh. Thereupon HEMMI JURODA, one of his lieutenants, performed what Samurai consider a friendly office. With one blow of his keen heavy sword he severed his chief's head from his shoulders, in order to spare him the disgrace of falling alive into his enemy's hands. This done, HEMMI handed the head to one of SAIGO's servants for concealment and committed suicide. SAIGO's head was buried, but so hurriedly that some of the hair remained exposed, and it was subsequently discovered by a coolie. Around SAIGO fell KIRINO, MURATA, BEPPU, IKEGAMI SHIRO, and one hundred of the principal Samurai of the Satsuma clan, who had sought to protect their chief to the last, and refused to survive him. The rest of the rebels, 210 in number, many of whom were severely wounded, were overpowered and disarmed, and this bloody tragedy, which had commenced in the misty dawn of a fair September morning, was terminated before the sun had sped one hour and a half of his course. The Imperialist losses were only

thirty men, and as a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions for ten days were found in the camp, it is evident that the rebels did not think that their last hour was come.

"On the day succeeding the combat, the dead were brought down from the battle field into the town for identification and burial. In the cemetery of the small temple of Jōkōji a broad trench had been dug, and near it the corpses of the fallen were laid out side by side. It was then that the bodies of KIRINO, BEPPU, HEMMI, MURATA, and the other leaders were recognised. All bore traces of the deadliness of the fight, and many were literally covered with wounds. Close to the body of KIRINO lay the headless trunk of a tall well-formed powerful man, with a bullet wound in the thigh and a stab in the stomach. Whilst the officers of the Imperial army were discussing as to whether the body was that of SAIGO or not, a head was brought in by some soldiers. It fitted the trunk and was recognised as SAIGO's head. It was disfigured and ghastly, clotted with blood and earth. Admiral KAWAMURA, the senior officer present, reverently washed the head with his own hands, as a mark of respect for his former friend and companion in arms during the war of the Restoration.

"The bodies of SAIGO and the leaders mentioned above by name were placed in coffins. The other corpses were wrapped in blankets. SAIGO lies in the centre of the large grave where all are interred, and the rest are placed in rows on either side of him. Over the grave stands a large wooden tablet on which are inscribed the names of the dead, and the date on which they fell.

"Thousands of the people of Satsuma have since visited this grave and there offered up their prayers; and, in the popular belief, the spirit of their once great general has taken up its abode in the planet Mars and his figure may there be seen, when this star is in the ascendant. The spirits of his followers have not, according to this same popular belief, soared so high, for the people say that a new race of frogs has appeared in Kiushiu; that the spirits of the dead rebels have animated this race, and so imbued it with their own courageous nature, that the frogs attack man whenever they see him and never desist from their attacks until they are killed."

Thus ended, it may justly be believed, the last struggle of feudalism against the centralised power of the Government of the Restoration. Few will doubt that if the rebel movement had been successful the country would have been thrown back in the path of progress, and become a prey to anarchy and internal dissensions that would have undone all the labour of ten years' careful and earnest administration.

The rebels, after the death of SAIGO, were treated with the utmost leniency. The only capital sentence pronounced and carried out, was that upon OYAMA TSUNAYOSHI, whose arrest has been described. Of about 43,000 persons accused of complicity in the rebellion, not more than 2,850 were convicted; and these were sentenced to fines, deprivation of rank, and varying terms of imprisonment not exceeding ten years in any instance. The total number of troops engaged is said to have been between sixty-five and seventy thousand imperialists, exclusive of the naval forces; while the rebels are supposed to have numbered forty thousand. The killed and wounded were almost identical on either side, the superiority of the imperial arms being in great measure counterbalanced by the desperate bravery of the rebels. Official accounts give the imperial losses at 6,399 killed, and 10,523 wounded. Rebel losses are estimated at 7,000 killed, and 11,000 wounded.

In addition to the loss of life entailed by the rebellion, the consequential losses were even more serious to the nation at large. Property burnt and otherwise destroyed was considerable: five hundred thousand men at least were thrown out of their employment as producing agriculturists; and the devastated fields of the sunny and fertile South still bear witness to the havoc of civil war. The actual cost in money to the state for

the imperial troops only, was subsequently stated at 42,000,000 yen, equivalent, at that time, to about 8,400,000*l* sterling. The expenses to which the nation had been subjected by the desire for progress, the introduction of railways, telegraphs, and other public works, had taxed its resources to the utmost; and this heavy additional burden remains to this day an undischarged liability. Funds were provided by the issue of 27,000,000 yen, 5,400,000*l* sterling, of additional paper money, increasing the sum in circulation to 121,000,000 yen, or 27,250,000*l*. 15,000,000 yen, or 3,000,000*l*, was borrowed from the nobles, secured by Government bonds bearing 5 per cent. annual interest. The finances of the empire have suffered heavily from this blow; and many years of prosperity greater than any hitherto enjoyed are required to obliterate the marks of the memorable Satsuma Rebellion.

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